NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 25 June, 2016

LIBRARY
Literary Society
BOMBAY
Class 4

HISTORY

OF

ITALY,

From the Year 1490, to 1532.

B 2682

Written in *Italian* by

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

A Nobleman of *Florence.*

IN TWENTY BOOKS.

V. V. C.

Tranſlated into ENGLISH by the

Chevalier AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD,

Knight of the Military Order of St. *Stephen.*

37590
ac

The SECOND EDITION.

VOL. I.

VV-C-9

Containing the FIRST TWO BOOKS of the HISTORY, and the Life of the AUTHOR.

LONDON:
Printed by JOHN TOWERS, in *Piccadilly.*
M.DCC.LV.

1755

00037590

PROPOSALS

FOR

PRINTING by SUBSCRIPTION,

THE

HISTORY

OF

Franceſco Guicciardini,

A SENATOR of *Florence,*

Tranſlated into ENGLISH.

CONDITIONS.

I. THIS Work will be tranſlated into *Engliſh*, from the beſt *Italian* Edition, by the Chevalier *Auſtin Parke Goddard*; and will be compriſed, as near as can be computed, in Nine or Ten Volumes in Octavo; and be delivered in Sheets at the Printer's.

II. The Price of the whole Subſcription will be Two Guineas; One Guinea to be paid on Subſcribing, and the other on the Delivery of the Fourth Volume.

Printed by JOHN TOWERS, near *Air-Street*, in *Piccadilly*, where Subſcriptions are taken in.

Four Shillings will be charged by the Binder to thoſe who do not chuſe to take their Books in Sheets, for ſtitching them all in blue Paper, and ſending them to any Part of *London*.

THIS HISTORY has always been looked upon by the Learned as a Model for Hiſtorians to copy after; it no ſooner made its Appearance, than it was tranſlated into moſt of the *European* Languages.

Beſides the great Encomiums beſtowed on *Guicciardini*, by Men eminent for Learning and Judgment, thoſe of the late Lord *Bolingbroke* are a ſufficient Inducement for the Lovers of Hiſtory to peruſe this Work. In his Third Letter on the *Study of Hiſtory*, *p.* 60. his Lordſhip calls him *the admirable Hiſtorian*; and in his Fifth, *p.* 167, he ſays, *I ſhould not ſcruple to prefer* Guicciardini *to* Thucydides *in every Reſpect*.

This great Hiſtorian fully relates all the Tranſactions of that Æra wherein *the Study of Hiſtory*, as that Lord ſays, *ought to begin*; *and was written in that Point of Time when theſe Events, and all thoſe Revolutions began, that have produced ſo vaſt a Change in the Manners, Cuſtoms, and Intereſts of particular Nations*; *and in the Policy, Eccleſiaſtical and*

and Civil, of thoſe Parts of the World. And as *Guicciardini* lived in thoſe Days, and was employed both in the Cabinet and Field, he had all the Opportunities of furniſhing himſelf with Materials for this Hiſtory.

In regard to Church-Government, he ſhews at Length, in the Lives of the Popes who lived at and near that Time, the various Events that brought about the great Alteration in Religion.

He tells us by what Accidents the *French* Conſtitution was altered, whereby their Kings were enabled to *become Maſters at home, and to extend themſelves abroad*; which he demonſtrates by the Exploits of *Charles* VIII, *Lewis* XII, and *Francis* I.

He informs us of the State of Affairs in *Spain*, and of the Origin of her Splendor in the Fifteenth Century, when the Kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Aragon* were united by the Marriage of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*; the total Expulſion of the *Moors*; the Diſcovery of the *Weſt-Indies*; and alſo what

Concerns

Concerns *England* had with Foreign Princes in thoſe Days.

In the Life of *Maximilian* the Emperor he repreſents the diſorderly State of the Empire, and the Change that was made by the Election of *Charles* V. in Oppoſition to *Francis* I, at which Period "the Rivalſhip between the two great Powers of *France* and *Auſtria* was formed: From hence aroſe the Notion of a Balance of Power, and to hinder it from being deſtroyed has been the principal Care of all the wiſe Councils of *Europe*, and is ſo to this Day."

Guicciardini compoſed his Hiſtory in Twenty Books, but dying before he had reviſed the laſt Four, his Nephews, in all the firſt Editions, publiſhed only Sixteen, which the Tranſlator propoſed to give in Seven Volumes in Octavo, as may be ſeen in his former Propoſals; but, at the Deſire of his Friends, having ſince tranſlated the laſt Four, the Volumes on this account will exceed the Number he had firſt advertiſed, but no Alteration will be made in the Price.

This Hiſtory is an Introduction to that of *Thuanus*.

TO

The Right Honourable the

Counteſs of POMFRET.

MADAM,

I SHOULD never have preſumed to appear in Print, had I not had the Honour and good Fortune of Your Ladyſhip's Acquaintance. In a Converſation Two Years ago, You expreſſed the Satisfaction You ſhould receive in reading a faithful Tranſlation of GUICCIARDINI's Hiſtory in our Language. This induced me to render a Sheet of it into *Engliſh*, which Your Ladyſhip was ſo good as to approve

prove. As you are a perfect Judge of both Languages, I conſtrued Your Approbation for an Encouragement; and, with no ſmall Labour, have gone through the Whole Hiſtory. If I find my Undertaking has anſwered Your Ladyſhip's Expectation (which is the Height of my Ambition) I ſhall have no Reaſon to doubt of its being acceptable to the Public.

I am, MADAM,

Your Ladyſhip's

moſt obedient

humble Servant,

AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD.

To the READER.

THE higher the Opinion the World entertains of the Merit of *Guicciardini*'s Hiſtory, the greater the Expectation may be of ſeeing it rendered properly into *Engliſh*. The Tranſlator, therefore, to obviate all Prejudices and Prepoſſeſſions, thinks proper to give the following Account of himſelf.

THE Grand Duke of *Tuſcany, Coſmo* III. having had ſome Knowledge of the Tranſlator's Family, ſent for him to *Italy* before he had attained the Eleventh Year of his Age. He lived Eighteen Years in that Country, Seven of them in the Academy of *Siena*, and other Places of Study, and the Remainder at the Court of *Florence*, where his Royal Highneſs honoured him with the Order of St. *Stephen*.

THIS was mentioned in the Firſt Edition by the Tranſlator, as an Excuſe for

for any impropriety of his *Engliſh*. But ſince the Public has been ſo indulgent as to take off all the Copies of the firſt Volume, ſo as to put him under a Neceſſity of enlarging the Number of the reſt, and reprinting the Firſt, he congratulates himſelf in thinking he has no farther Occaſion to apologize on that Score.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Franceſco Guicciardini*,

Taken chiefly from Signior *Domenico Manni* of *Florence.*

AMONGST the many Noble Families which adorn the City of *Florence*, that of the *Guicciardini* may be well placed in the firſt Rank, both for its Antiquity, and on account of the Great Men it has produced. Several of them have been ſent on Embaſſies, and employed in the moſt important Poſts of the State. They reckon Sixteen *Gonfalonieri*, which was formerly the Supreme Dignity in the Republic, for the

Senatorial Order was not inſtituted till the Year 1532, when Forty-Eight Senators were created with the Sovereign at their Head. The ſtately Palace of the *Guicciardini* ſtill remains, and gives Name to the Street where it ſtands, near which is the Old Church of *Santa Felicita*, adorned with many of their Devices, and Altars officiated by Chaplains of their Nomination. They have been Lords of ſeveral Caſtles in *Valdipeſa* ever ſince the Year 1150. That of *Popiano* was ſold by *Nicolò Guicciardini*, in 1445, for Three Thouſand Florins to *Galeazzo Malateſta* of *Peſaro*, and re-purchaſed into the Family, in 1449, by *Jacopo* and *Piero*, but now they have only the Preſentation to the Chief Church.

FROM ſuch noble Blood then ſprung our *Franceſco*. His Father's Name was *Piero*, a famous Lawyer, and a valiant Officer, who was appointed Commiſſary General of the *Florentines* in 1501, and afterwards being ſent Ambaſſador to *Leo* the Tenth, diſplayed ſuch Eloquence in a Speech he made to the Pontiff, that the Audience

Audience affirmed, None but the *Florentines* were compleat Orators. This confirms what an Hiſtorian has writ, that our *Franceſco* was endued with an hereditary Eloquence. For *Jacopo*, *Piero*'s Father, was alſo a learned Man as well as a great General.

I HAVE thought it neceſſary to make this Preamble, to give a greater Luſtre to the Character of *Franceſco*: For tho' one cannot well aſſert that Virtue is hereditary, yet to have before our Eyes the glorious Deeds of our Anceſtors, is a great Encouragement to endeavour to attain it: For this Reaſon *Varro* thought it commendable, and uſeful to the State, that Men, like *Alexander*, ſhould imagine themſelves Sons of ſome Deity, that, inſpired with ſo high a Notion, they might diſdain to attend to mean Employments.

SIMONA GIANFILIAZZI, the Mother of *Franceſco* and ſeven other Children, was alſo deſcended of an antient and noble Family. As for the Time of his Birth, and ſome other Particulars relating to the Author's Life, they cannot

Be

be better aſcertained, than by tranſcribing the Relation *Franceſco* gives of himſelf, in a Manuſcript of his own Hand-Writing, ſtill extant, which is as follows.

" I FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI, " Doctor of Civil and Common Law, " was born the 6th of *March*, 1482, " in *Florence*, about Ten of the Clock: " The Name of *Franceſco* was given me, " in Memory of *Franceſco Nerli*, my " Father's Grandfather by his Mother's " Side: I was alſo Chriſtened by the " Name of *Thomas*, the Day I was born " happening to be the Feſtival of Saint " *Thomas Aquinas*. My Godfathers were " *M. Marſilio Ficino*, the greateſt *Pla-* " *tonic* Philoſopher then in the Univerſe, " *Giovanni Canacci*, and *Piero del Nero*, " both likewiſe Philoſophers. In the " Year 1498, about the End of *Novem-* " *ber*, I began to ſtudy the Civil Law, " and that Year at *Florence* I heard the " Inſtitutes from *M. Jacopo Modeſti* of " *Carmignano*, for that Study was loſt " in *Piſa*. *Rinieri Guicciardini*, my " Uncle, was Archdeacon of the Metro-

" politan

" politan Church of *Florence*, and Biſhop
" of *Cortona*; his Benefices yielded him
" near Fifteen Hundred Ducats a Year;
" and moſt People imagined, when he
" was taken ill, that he would make
" over to me his beſt Benefices, which I
" very much deſired, not from an In-
" clination to lead an idle Life, but be-
" cauſe I thought, that being young, I
" might be in the Way of obtaining rich
" Preferments in the Church, with Hopes
" ſome time or other to be made a Car-
" dinal. *Rinieri* was not inclined to
" make Renunciation, yet he would have
" made it in Reverſion, eſpecially if my
" Father, for whom he had a great Re-
" gard had preſſed him to it. But tho'
" he had Five Sons, he did not care that
" any of them ſhould take to the Church;
" becauſe he thought the Diſcipline very
" much neglected, and therefore choſe
" rather to loſe the preſent Opportunity
" of preferring a Child that Way, than
" to ſully his Conſcience, by making a
" Son of his a Prieſt, with a View to
" Grandeur and Riches: This was the
" true Reaſon that guided him, and I

" was

" was obliged to ſubmit. The 15th of " *November*, 1505, I received my De- " grees in the Chapter of *St. Lawrence*, " in the College of the Students at *Piſa*, " erected in 1497: But I choſe only to " be Doctor of the Civil Law, becauſe " I thought the Cannon of little Im- " portance: My Sponſors were *M. An-* " *tonio Malagonelli*, *M. Franceſco Pepi*, " and *M. Vittorio Soderini*, and the ſame " Morning I read my Lecture." So far *Guicciardini*'s Manuſcript.

IN the 23d Year of his Age, he was appointed a Profeſſor of the Inſtitutes at *Florence*, with a competent Salary for thoſe Days, and ſoon eſtabliſhed ſuch a Character, that he was conſulted and preferred to all other Lawyers his Co-temporaries. *Antonio Cioffi* gives him the Name of *Clariſſimus Juriſconſultus*, [a moſt eminent Lawyer.] Many of his Opinions are yet extant, and are preſerved in the famous Library of Sig. *Carlo Tomaſo Strozzi*, a Gentleman, to whom all Lovers of Arts and Erudition are very much indebted.

In the Year 1506, *Guicciardini* married *Maria*, Daughter of *Alemanno Everardo Salviati*, without Compariſon the greateſt Man in *Florence*. In 1507, he was choſen by many Cities of the State for their ſtanding Counſellor, and two Years after made Advocate of the *Florentine* Chapter, which was a very honourable Employment, both for its Dignity and becauſe it had always been filled with the moſt learned Counſellors of the City. In 1509, he was elected Advocate of the Order of the *Camaldoli*, and continued in this Way of Life until the Year 1511, when the ſupreme Magiſtracy thought proper to make uſe of his Talents in a more public Manner.

The *French* and *Spaniards* had entered into a League againſt the *Italians*, and the *Florentines* were very much perplexed, not being determined whether they ſhould engage in the League, or remain neuter. On this Occaſion they appointed our *Franceſco* Ambaſſador to *Ferdinando* King of *Spain*, to treat about this and ſeveral other im-

important Affairs; as he mentions in the 10th Book of his Hiſtory. He left *Florence* in *January*, 1512, and after a proſperous Journey came to *Burgos*, where the King reſided, and remained two Years at his Court. A large Field was here opened for his Improvement in the Management of Affairs: Many Events happened in that Time, which came within his Province to negotiate; ſuch as the taking and plundering of *Ravenna* and *Prato* by the *Spaniards*, the depoſing of *Piero Soderini*, and the Reſtoration of the Family of the *Medici*. What concerned theſe and other Negotiations was tranſacted by him with univerſal Applauſe, and the Republic had ſuch an Opinion of his Capacity, that, though ſeveral Occurrences happened within that Time, they never ſent any other Miniſter. The King was alſo intirely ſatisfied with his Behaviour; a Proof of which was the great Quantity of fine-wrought Plate, he made him a Preſent of at his Departure. On his Return, at *Piacenza* he heard the melancholy News of his Father's Death, which was ſomething alleviated by the unuſual

Marks

Marks of Honour and Reſpect paid him when he came to *Florence*.

On the 13th of *December*, 1515, *Leo* the Tenth made his pompous Entry into *Florence*, accompanied by a great Number of Cardinals. *Guicciardini* had been deputed by the Republic to go and receive him at *Cortona*, where the Pope, taken by his engaging Behaviour, or convinced, on this Occaſion, of the Truth of what Fame had ſpread of his Abilities, the Day after his Arrival, of his own accord, in a Congregation of Cardinals, declared him Advocate of the Conſiſtory. When he came to *Florence*, he conferred indeed the ſame Dignity on *Vincenzo Paleotti* of *Bologna*, a learned Lawyer, who was Counſel to the King of *England*, and on *Lancellotto Politi* of *Siena*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Conſa*. But what is here ſaid, is to ſhew that *Guicciardini* was the firſt who received this Honour, and that, by the Recommendation only of his own Merit. The Pope's Favours did not ſtop here; for not long after he ſent for him to come to *Rome*, with a View of employing him where

where he might beſt diſplay his Talents. In 1518, he gave him the Government of *Modena* and *Reggio*, in that perilous Time a Place of Truſt that required vaſt Circumſpection, which he ſhewed himſelf Maſter of, by deluding with a prudent Dexterity the Perſon who, relying on his Youth and Unexperience in Military Affairs, endeavoured to make himſelf Maſter of *Reggio*.

In 1521, *Guicciardini*'s good Conduct in his Office obtained him the Government of *Parma*, from whence *Bocchi* writes he drove away the *French*, and confirmed the *Parmeſans* in their Obedience and Submiſſion, which proved a very difficult Taſk; for it was when the Holy See was vacant by the Death of *Leo*, and when the People he commanded were full of Fears, diſheartened and unarmed. He retained the ſame Poſt under *Adrian* the Sixth, to whom he diſcovered the dangerous Deſigns of *Alberto Pio da Carpi*, and got him removed from the Government of *Reggio* and *Rubiera*. *Giulio de' Medici*, who took the

the Name of *Clement* the Seventh, as ſoon as he was exalted to the Pontificate, confirmed him in that Government. In the Year 1523 he prevented the Duke of *Ferrara* from ſeizing on *Modena*; in Acknowledgment of which the Pope made him Governor of that Place, and Preſident of *Romagna*, with an unlimitted Authority. This was a Place of great Dignity and Power, yet a very laborious and dangerous Situation, conſidering the Circumſtances of the Times, the Enmities and Factions then running ſo high: But his Prudence not only overcame all theſe Difficulties, but in the Midſt of them he found Means to contribute to the Conveniency and Delight of the Inhabitants, by embelliſhing their Towns, that lay almoſt in Rubbiſh, with good Houſes and magnificent Edifices. This rendered his Name ſo acceptable to thoſe People, that they were overjoyed when, after a further Promotion of *Guicciardini*, they underſtood he was to be ſucceeded in his Government by his Brother. This happened the 6th of *June*, 1526, when the Pope by a Brief declared him Lieutenant

General of all his Troops in the Eccleſiaſtical State, with an Authority over his Forces in other Parts alſo that were under the Command of any Captain General; wherefore *Girolamo* in his Ninth Book writes, "When, in 1527, the Citizens of *Ravenna* had Reaſon to fear the intire Deſtruction of their Country, *Guicciardini*, Commander of the Pope's and all the Confederate Forces, came to our Aid." There is an original Letter from the Duke of *Milan*, ſtill preſerved in the Family, directed, *Illuſtriſſimo Domino* Franciſco Guicciardino *Locumtenenti Pontificio & tanquam Patri honor: In Caſtris Sanctiſſimæ Ligæ*; and ends *De V. S. come filio* Franceſco 2*do Sf. Viſconte Duca di Milano*; and another from the King of *France*, with this honourable Addreſs, *A mon Couſin* Franceſco Guicciardini, *Gouverneur Gen. du Pape.*

GUICCIARDINI, according to *Bocchi*, was excellent both in the Cabinet and Camp; and, as *Scipione Amirato* obſerves, it was impoſſible he ſhould be otherwiſe, when one conſiders the different Employments

ments and Negotiations he was truſted with, and the many Conſultations, both Civil and Military, at which he was preſent. *Poſſevino* writes, that he was very well verſed in all Affairs concerning Peace or War; and *Benedetto Varchi* in his Hiſtory has this Paragraph, "*Franceſco Guicciardini*, beſides his Nobility, beſides his Riches, beſides his Degrees, beſides his having been Governor and Lieutenant General of the Pope, was alſo highly eſteemed not only for his Knowledge but alſo for the Experience he had in Civil Affairs and political Tranſactions, a Subject he talked and judged of extremely well." *Domenico Mellini*, in the Deſcription he gives of Queen *Giovanna* of *Auſtria*'s Entry into *Florence*, calls him a Man of Prudence, and well verſed in the Management of grand Affairs relating to Government. *Sanſevino* thus confirms all that had been ſaid by others: "The Pope and other Princes in the Alliance were ſo ſenſible of his Integrity and Abilities that, by their Authority, he opened all their Letters that paſſed through his Hand whilſt he was in the Field, and

corrected and altered their Orders as he thought the Exigency of Affairs required." *Bocchi* in another Place calls him one of the greateſt Men in *Italy*; which indeed *Guicciardini* has proved himſelf to be in the two excellent Books he has written, intitled, *Political and Military Advertiſements*.

No Wonder if a Man of ſuch Parts was courted by all the Learned: It were to be wiſhed, that we could look into his Correſpondence; but as his Letters, by fatal Negligence, have periſhed, our Curioſity in this Point can only be ſatisfied by ſome written to him; a Part of theſe are from Cardinal *Pietro Bembo*, Secretary to *Leo* X. and are to be ſeen in his printed Letters; and others from *Bernardo Taſſo*, amongſt which is that famous Sonette in his Works.

Arno ben puoi il tuo Natio ſoggiorno
Laſciar nell Appeninno, &c.

It appears from the Letters of *Bembo* that he poſſeſſed the agreeable Art of engaging

gaging the Affections both of private Perſons and Princes: All our Hiſtories make mention of the Pains he took, in the Year 1527, to quell a dangerous Inſurrection in *Florence*, when the Army of the League was there, under the Conſtable of *Bourbon*, at which Juncture that City would probably have been ſacked, and a great Part of the Nobility murdered, if *Franceſco*, by his Interpoſition, Counſel, and ſmooth Speeches, had not prevented it.

SOME Authors, tho' of no great Note, have ventured to tax *Guicciardini* with Prolixity, but they are much outweighed by thoſe of a ſuperior Judgment. *Scipione Ammirato*, the elder, in his fine dedicatory Epiſtle to the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, expreſſes himſelf thus: "*Guic-*
"*ciardini* explains the Cauſes and Rea-
"ſons of Things ſo juſtly, praiſes the
"good Actions, and blames the bad, ſo
"free from Malice, Prejudice, or Envy,
"and lays before the Eyes of the Rea-
"ders the Cuſtoms and Qualities of Per-
"ſons in ſuch proper Colours, and all this

" with ſuch Decorum and Majeſty, that
" he creates rather Wonder and Aſto-
" niſhment, than Hopes of equalling,
" much leſs ſurpaſſing him: He ſeems
" to have been the only one, that in this
" corrupt and flattering Age underſtood,
" and was thorough Maſter of what be-
" longs to the Office of an Hiſtorian: He
" baniſhed all human Prejudices, and ſeat-
" ing himſelf on the moſt venerable Chair
" of Truth, like a ſevere Cenſor, who
" is to paſs Judgment, not on Citizens, but
" on all the mighty Kings and Princes on
" Earth, condemns one, blames another,
" abſolves a third; others he exalts with
" the higheſt Encomiums, equalling them
" in a manner with celeſtial Beings. It
" is not then to be wondered, that his
" Hiſtory, tranſlated into all the beſt
" Languages, flies all over *Europe*, ad-
" ding Courage to the Brave, repri-
" manding the Poltroons, counſelling
" Republics, admoniſhing Princes, re-
" ſtraining Subjects within Bounds, and
" inſtructing Mankind in general."

BERNARDO SEGNI writes, that he was the

the chief Favorite of Pope *Clement*; that, in 1531, he made him Governor of *Bologna*, and was the firſt Layman who had been ſent to govern that City. He was in this Poſt when the Pope made his ſplendid Entry into *Bologna*, on the 8th of *December*, 1532, where he was met on the 13th of the ſame Month by *Charles* V. Our Hiſtorian aſſiſted at the pompous Coronation of the Emperor, on *St. Matthias*'s Day, with ſeveral Princes that came to this Solemnity, from whom he received many Civilities, every one courting his Company, for the Benefit they received from his inſtructive Converſation.

One Day the Emperor, being informed that *Guicciardini* attended his Levee, gave immediate Orders for his being admitted into his Dreſſing-Room, and converſed with him on the Subject of the Hiſtory in which he was engaged. In the mean Time one of the Courtiers informed his Majeſty that a Murmur was riſen amongſt ſeveral Perſons of Quality, and Officers of the Army, who, for many Days together, had been deſiring an Audience, without

being allowed that Honour. The Emperor, holding *Guicciardini* by the Hand, entered the Drawing-Room, and thus addreſſed the Company: "Gentlemen! I am informed that you think it ſtrange that I gave Admiſſion to *Guicciardini* before you; but I deſire you would conſider, that in one Hour I can create an Hundred Nobles, and a like Number of Officers in the Army, but I cannot produce ſuch an Hiſtorian in the Space of Twenty Years. To what Purpoſe ſerve the Pains which you take to execute your reſpective Functions in the Camp or in the Council, if Hiſtorians, for the Inſtruction of your Deſcendants tranſmit not an Account of your Conduct to Poſterity; who are they, that have informed Mankind of the heroic Actions of your Anceſtors, but Hiſtorians? It is neceſſary then to honour them, that they may be encouraged to convey the Knowledge of your illuſtrious Deeds to Futurity. Thus, Gentlemen! you ought neither to be offended nor ſurprized at my Regard for *Guicciardini*, ſince you have as much Intereſt in his Province as myſelf."

By Letters writ to him by *Pietro Bembo*, we are informed, that *Guicciardini* lived ſometimes at *Bologna*, and ſometimes at *Florence*, according as the Affairs of the Public required. In *February*, 1532, he ſent a Letter to *Florence*, containing ſome Inſtructions; and, in *April*, he was ordered by the Pope to come and reform the State, and put *Aleſſandro* in Poſſeſſion of that Government. He obtained from *Clement*, when he was at *Bologna*, a Brief, in which were contained many Privileges, both Spiritual and Temporal, for himſelf, and his Wife, and their neareſt Relations. Notwithſtanding his prudent Government, *Varchi* obſerves that there were ſeveral in *Bologna* diſſatisfied with his Severity, and in general they diſliked to have a Layman for their Superior; but this muſt be ſaid in his Excuſe, that in thoſe tumultuous Times he was obliged to keep every one, without Exception in Subjection, by which Means he quieted that turbulent City, which he could not have effected by Mildneſs. He was in this Government at the Death of *Clement* VII.

in

in 1534, when he deſpiſed the impending Danger that he was threatened with by his Enemies for his Severity who concealed their Anger in the Pope's Life-time, but now ſeemed determined to take their Revenge. As he was not only a wiſe, but alſo a courageous Magiſtrate, he raiſed immediately a Thouſand Men, puniſhed ſome of the Mutineers, and provided for the Safety of himſelf and his Friends, in doing of which he put in practice this Doctrine, contained in his Fourteenth Precept. "He who does not underſtand how to govern Cities, and People, ought to be taught, That by puniſhing a Few he may quiet the reſt." And in his Fifty-ſeventh Precept, he ſays, "Man cannot well be governed without Severity, becauſe the Malignity of Human Nature requires it; but at the ſame Time Care ſhould be taken to inſinuate, that Rigor is not pleaſing to him that puniſhes, but made uſe of out of Neceſſity, and for the public Welfare."

After the Death of *Clement*, *Guicciardini* was reſolved to quit that Government,

ment, as he apprehended the People would no longer ſubmit to his Commands; but the Senate having conſidered that many Diſorders might happen, if they were left without a Governor in the Time of the vacant See, they beſeeched him to continue, promiſing him he ſhould have all the Aſſiſtance requiſite; to which he at laſt conſented.

But ſeveral Noblemen were highly diſſatisfied with him and among the reſt *Galeazzo Caſtelli* and *Girolamo Pepoli*, who till now had been Fugitives. As ſoon as *Clement* was dead, they came into *Bologna* at Noon-day, accompanied by ſeveral of their Friends, and by ſome out-lawed Perſons, well-armed. This Manner of proceeding was very diſpleaſing to the Governor, who looked upon it as done in contempt of his Perſon, and therefore meditated how to revenge the Affront. One Evening two proſcribed Felons, under *Pepoli*'s Protection, were taken up by the Officers as they were walking the Streets, and carried to Priſon: *Guicciardini*, without any farther Proceſs, ordered

ordered them to be immediately executed. Count *Girolamo Pepoli*, in great Wrath, got a Number of his Friends together, and was going in queſt of the Governor to ſeek his Revenge; but the Senate ſent ſome of their Members to *Pepoli*, to deſire him to return to his Houſe, and not occaſion a Tumult, which he complied with for fear of diſobliging the Senate.

So far *Pompeo Vizzani*, an Hiſtorian of *Bologna*; who alſo relates that *Guicciardini* ever after owed the *Bologneſe* a Grudge. *Remigio* adds, that as ſoon as *Guicciardini* was appriſed that a new Governor was appointed, he reſolved to quit the Town; and though the *Pepoli* had threatened his Deſtruction, becauſe he had hanged two of their Bravo's, yet he took with him but a few Horſemen, beſides his own Servants; and as it was his direct Road, he would not avoid paſſing by the Palace of the *Pepoli*; but, contrary to the Expectation of every Body, they remained quiet, without giving him any Diſturbance in the Journey.

AFTER this happened the tragical and unexpected Death of the Duke of *Florence*, on which occaſion the Senate aſſembled, and our *Franceſco*, who was in all the ſecret Conferences, had Influence enough to procure the Election of *Coſmo*, Son of *Giovanni de' Medici*, which gave Occaſion to *Giorgio Vaſſari* to place him next to the Duke, in his fine Painting in the old Palace, repreſenting this Election. Whilſt this Prince governed, *Guicciardini* lived retired, without meddling in public Affairs, unleſs when his Advice was required. All he now deſired was a quiet Receſs, that he might have Leiſure to continue his Hiſtory, already begun, to which he was earneſtly ſollicited by *Jacopo Nardi*, who was himſelf a famous Hiſtorian. But in the Midſt of his Retirement, Pope *Paul* III. coming from *Nice*, paſſed through *Florence*; where, firſt in Perſon, then by Letters, and, at laſt, by means of Cardinal *Ducci*, he earneſtly endeavoured to perſuade, I may ſay, preſſed him, to come to *Rome*: But he reſiſted all Entreaties, and all the

the advantageous Offers that were made him, which entirely diſcredits what *Varchi* has writ of his Avarice and Ambition. But as many are apt to judge of inward Motives from outward Appearances, they imagined his Refuſal proceeded from his being married, and without Sons, which made it impracticable, either for him, or his Deſcendants, to become Prelates or Cardinals. He might alſo conſider that, as there was no good Harmony between his Maſter and the Pope, it would not be decent in him to quit the former, and ſerve the latter. But the chief Reaſon ſeems to have been the natural Deſire that Men, ſatiated with Buſineſs, have for the Sweets of Retirement; on which being fully determined, he diſengaged himſelf from the Pope's Sollicitations in a handſome Manner, and gave himſelf up entirely to the finiſhing of his Hiſtory at *Emma*, his delightful Country-houſe, often mentioned by the Hiſtorians, becauſe it was his, and memorable even then for the Encampment and Quarters of the Prince of *Orange*, at the Siege of *Florence*, in 1529.

OUR Author enjoyed but a ſhort Time the Tranquility and Peace of Mind he expected to find in his Retirement: For he died the 27th of *May*, 1540, in the 59th Year of his Age, and, as reported, of Grief. For the Duke, in whoſe Election he had ſo much intereſted himſelf, put in practice all the Methods he could deviſe, to oppreſs the remaining Spirit of Liberty in his Country, which he effected by impoveriſhing his Subjects. In the Time of the Republic, no Nobleman was qualified for any Poſt in the Government, till he had made himſelf Member of one of the ſeveral Trading Companies in *Florence**. This Regulation making it no Diſgrace for a Gentleman to keep a Shop in the Wholeſale way, the Trade of *Florence* was become ſo extenſive, as to render it one of the richeſt Cities in *Europe*. At *Piſa* is ſhewn to this Day the Place, from whence they ſay the *Florentine* Gallies ſet out, once every

* Noblemen in *Italy* are no more than what we call the Gentry; and though there is a very great Number of Marquiſſes and Counts, yet, as in *Italy* there is no Precedence amongſt Gentlemen, they claim no particular Rank.

every Year, with Woolen Goods for *England*, which they reached, by coaſting along the *French*, *Spaniſh* and *Portugal* Shores.

DUKE *Coſmo*, to leſſen this Trade, promoted the Noblemen to Places of Honour and Profit, without requiring the aforeſaid Qualification, and erected the Order of St. *Stephen* from which all Traders were excluded. In the Inſtitution of this Order, he followed the Plan of that of *Malta*, the moſt material Difference between the two conſiſting only in the Article of Celibacy; for like them the Knights of St. *Stephen* make Proof of their Birth, fight againſt the *Turks*, and enjoy Commenderies. As the ſagacious Duke knew the Paſſion of Mankind for tranſmitting their Titles to their Poſterity, he made a Decree, That any Gentleman who would erect a Commenderie upon his Eſtate of no leſs Value than Ten Thouſand Crowns, He, and his eldeſt Heirs Male, ſhould enjoy it with the Title of Commendeurs. But in Failure of Male Iſſue, ſuch Commenderies ſhould devolve to the Order, which in the Courſe

of

of ſo many Years has greatly enriched it. The Grand Maſter, who is now the preſent Emperor, has all theſe Commenderies in his Diſpoſal. The Duke, to allure his Gentry into this new Order, endowed the Knights with many valuable Privileges, and amongſt the reſt that of no Executions being performed to take Place againſt either their Perſons or Effects. Theſe Privileges, together with a natural Paſſion the *Italians*, as much as any other Nation, have for Titles, induced great Numbers of the *Tuſcan* Nobility to retire from Trade, whereby many Noble Families are impoveriſhed, and rendered dependant on the Sovereign †. Theſe and the like Mea-

† The Great Duke *Coſmo* the Third, when on his Travels, was treated in *England* with a particular Regard by ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen, to whom he afterwards ſent Preſents of Wine during his Life, and when any of them, or their Family, came into his Dominions, he never failed ſhewing them Marks of his Gratitude. In the Year 1712, on the Arrival at *Florence* of the Honourable *Thomas Clifford*, eldeſt of the Grandſons to the Lord of that Name, who had been High Treaſurer when the Great Duke was in *England*, his Royal Highneſs conferred on him the Order of St. *Stephen*: And, as I well remember, Sir *Henry Bedingfeld*, Bart. was to have received the Croſs, and have been inſtalled at that Juncture, had his Time permitted him to ſtay in *Florence*, till her Majeſty's

ſures were ſo grievous to *Guicciardini*, that, as *Bernardo Segni* writes, he died of a broken Heart, and in Deſpair, becauſe the Affairs of his Country were ſo ill conducted: Others have reported that, unable to bear the Sight of the deplorable State to which *Florence* was reduced, he prevailed on one of his intimate Friends to adminiſter him Poiſon. But *Remigio*, *Rondinelli*, *Giovanni Imperiali*, and ſeveral other authentic Hiſtorians, intirely clear him from that Imputation, and aſſures he died of a violent Fever *.

He

Majeſty's Permiſſion could be procured, as it had been for the other. On the Death of the ſaid *Thomas*, the Honourable *Henry Clifford*, his younger Brother, was knighted. We have alſo the Commendeur *Coſmo Nevil*, whoſe Father Count *Migliorucci*, deſcended of a very ancient *Tuſcan* Family, erected a Commenderie on his Eſtate, to which the preſent Commendeur *Coſmo Nevil* his Son by one of the Heireſſes of the *Nevils* of *Holt*, is intitled.

* There are ſtill exiſting ſeveral Republican Families in *Florence*, and I myſelf have heard ſome deteſt the Memory of *Guicciardini* for contributing to enſlave his Country by eſpouſing the Intereſt of the Family of the *Medici*, and think that he was ſo far from taking to Heart the Exerciſe of an arbitrary Adminiſtration, that he might probably have had a Hand in forming the Plan of the Order of St. *Stephen*; which, however, was not confirmed till after his Death.

He was buried with Honour, but without Pomp, having expreſſly ordered that no Shew or Funeral Oration, as was cuſtomary, ſhould be made, nor any Inſcription put upon his Grave; which laſt was obſerved till the Year Sixteen Hundred and Twenty, when the Family repaired the great Chapel, and the following Inſcription was ordered to be engraved.

Francisco Guicciardino *Senat.*
Petri F.
Vigentem Ætatem Rebus maximis
Agendis impendit
In conſcribenda præclara Hiſtoria
Vergentem
Cujus Negocium an Ocium
Glorioſius incertum
Niſi Occii Lumen Negocii Famam
Clariorem reddiſſet.

Francesco was tall, and of a venerable Aſpect; he had large Shoulders, a plain Face, a ſtrong and robuſt Conſtitution. The Family have a Picture of him, that ſeems to have been drawn in thoſe

Days; ſuch another is in the Houſe of Signor *Nicolo Panciatici*: One of them probably is that mentioned by *Giorgio Vaſari*, in the Third Part of his Lives of the Painters, where he ſays, "At that Time I painted ſeveral Pieces, and amongſt the reſt the Picture of Meſſer *Franceſco Guicciardini*, who was juſt returned from *Bologna*, at his Country Houſe near *Montici*, which pretty well reſembled him, and was admired." One of his Pictures is to be ſeen in the Great Duke's Gallery, in the left Wing, amongſt the famous Hiſtorians, and another in the right, amongſt the Men of great Learning. There is alſo in the Muſeum of Sig. *Carlo Tomaſo Strozzi*, a Braſs Medal, ſtruck in thoſe Days, which ſeems to have a good Reſemblance; on the Backſide is repreſented a Rock, without any Inſcription, alluding to his Conſtancy and Intrepidity. In general thoſe who make mention of him agree, that he was a great Profeſſor of the Law, Learned, Upright, and Incorrupt: Of this latter he gave a ſufficient Proof, by his leaving ſo little Wealth, after the numberleſs Opportunities he had of accumulating

accumulating Riches. He was of a quick and high Conception, of ſingular Judgment, had a good Memory, was profound and prudent in his Counſels, efficacious in Perſuading, eloquent in Speech, and had a peculiar Talent in deſcribing the Characters of Men. He was choleric, but not raſh, affable, but no Lover of Jeſts, preſerving ever a certain Gravity. He wrote ſeveral Books, as the *Sacking of* Rome, *Conſiderations on State Affairs*, *Counſels and Admonitions*, ſome Letters, ſeveral Law Caſes, and an Epiſtle in Verſe, which makes *Creſcimbeni* place him amongſt the *Tuſcan* Poets. As ſoon as his Hiſtory appeared in public, it was immediately tranſlated into *Latin*, and has had ſeveral Editions in moſt of the *European* Languages; an unqueſtionable Argument of the Author's extraordinary Merit.

ENOUGH has been ſaid of his Hiſtory; to which I ſhall only add the Teſtimony of the late Lord *Bolingbroke*, who in his Third Letter *On the Study of Hiſtory*, calls him the *Admirable Hiſtorian*; and in his Fifth ſays of him, *I ſhould not ſcruple to*

prefer Guicciardini *to* Thucydides *in every Reſpect.*

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI left a Wife, who lived till the Year 1559, and Three Daughters. Two married into the Family of the *Capponi*, and the other into that of *Ducci*. He had Three Brothers, *Luigi*, *Jacopo*, and *Girolamo*: From *Jacopo* came the famous Author of the Commentaries of *Europe*, from 1529 to 1560, who alſo wrote a Deſcription of the *Low Countries*, *&c.* His Name was *Lodovico*, and lies buried at *Antwerp*. From his other Brother, the Senator, *Girolamo* is deſcended, in a direct Line, *Franceſco Maria Gaetano*, who was a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to his late Royal Highneſs the Grand-Duke *Coſmo*.

Franceſco Guicciardini's

HISTORY

OF

The WARS in ITALY.

BOOK I.

THE CONTENTS.

Cauſes which produced the Italian *Wars. Expedition of* Charles *the Eighth, King of* France, *into* Italy. *Expulſion of* Piero de' Medici *from* Florence. *Rebellion of* Piſa. *Conqueſt of* Naples.

I PROPOSE to relate what paſt in our Memory in *Italy*, ſince the *French*, invited by our own Princes, came with powerful Armies and

A. D. 1490. and interrupted her Repoſe: A Subject, for its Greatneſs and Variety highly memorable, and full of melancholy Events; *Italy* for a long Series of Years having laboured under all ſuch Calamities as the Almighty is wont, in his Diſpleaſure, to inflict on wretched Mortals for their Impieties and Wickedneſs. From the Knowledge of ſo many, ſo various, and ſo important Incidents, every one may draw Inſtructions of ſome ſort or other, conducive both to his own and to the Public Good. By numberleſs Examples it will evidently appear, that human Affairs are as ſubject to Change and Fluctuation as the Waters of the Sea, agitated by the Winds: And alſo how pernicious, often to themſelves, and ever to their People, are the precipitate Meaſures of our Rulers, when actuated only by the Allurement of ſome vain Project, or preſent Pleaſure and Advantage. Such Princes never allow themſelves Leiſure to reflect on the Inſtability of Fortune; but, perverting the Uſe of that Power which was given them to do good, become the Authors of Diſquiet and Confuſion by their Miſconduct and Ambition.

BEFORE

BEFORE I proceed to give my Reader an Account of the Troubles in *Italy*, together with the Cauſes from whence ſo many Evils were derived, it will not be improper to obſerve, that our Calamities affected us with ſo much the greater Terror and Senſibility, as the Minds of Men were perfectly at Eaſe, and the Country at that Time in a State of profound Peace and Tranquillity. It is certain that, for above a thouſand Years back, at which Period the *Roman* Empire, weaken'd by a Change of her antient Inſtitutions, began to decline from that Pitch of Grandeur, to the attaining of which the moſt amazing Virtue and good Fortune had equally contributed, *Italy* had at no Time enjoy'd a State of ſuch compleat Proſperity and Repoſe, as in the Year 1490, and ſome time before and after. The People alſo had taken Advantage of this Halcyon Seaſon, and been buſied in cultivating all their Lands, as well Mountains as Vallies; and being under no Foreign Influence, but governed by their own Princes, *Italy* not only abounded with Inhabitants and Riches, but grew renowned for the Grandeur

A. D. 1490.

A. D. 1490. deur and Magnificence of her Sovereigns, for the Splendor of many noble and beautiful Cities; for the Seat and Majeſty of Religion, and for a Number of great Men of diſtinguiſhed Abilities in the Adminiſtration of public Affairs, and of excellent Accompliſhments in all the Sciences, and in every noble Art: She had alſo no ſmall Share of military Glory, according to the Knowledge and Practice of Arms in thoſe Days.

Lorenzo de' Medici. AN happy Concurrence of Cauſes had preſerved her in this flouriſhing Condition. Amongſt the reſt, common Fame aſcribed no ſmall Share to the Virtue and active Spirit of *Lorenzo de' Medici:* A Citizen of ſuch diſtinguiſhed Merit in the State of *Florence*, that the whole Affairs of that Republic were conducted as he thought proper to adviſe or direct. And it was indeed to the Happineſs of her Situation, the Ingenuity of the People, and the flouriſhing State of the public Credit, and her Opulency, that this Commonwealth chiefly owed her Power and Influence; for the Extent of its Dominion was not great.

LORENZO,

LORENZO, by Marriage, had made a *A. D.* 1490. ſtrict Alliance with Pope *Innocent* the Eighth; which gave him ſtill greater Credit and Authority with the Princes of *Italy*. He knew how deſtructive it would prove, both to himſelf and the Republic of *Florence* if any of them ſhould increaſe his Dominions at the Expence of his Neighbours; and was therefore ever watchful to prevent the moſt minute Cauſe of Strife or Miſunderſtanding among them, leſt the Ballance of Power, which then ſubſiſted in *Italy*, ſhould ſuffer any Alteration.

FERDINANDO of *Aragon*, King of *Naples*, was in the ſame Diſpoſition: A very ſagacious Prince, and highly eſteem'd; tho' formerly he had often diſcovered an ambitious and turbulent Spirit. He was inſtigated, at this very Time by *Alfonſo*, Duke of *Calabria*, his eldeſt Son, to reſent the Injury done to *Giovanni Galeazzo Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, who had married *Alfonſo*'s Daughter. The Duke had been excluded from the Adminiſtration of all public Affairs by his Uncle *Lodovico Sforza*; *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*.

A. D. 1490. *Sforza*'s who through the Weakneſs and diſſolute Behaviour of *Bona*, this young Prince's Mother, had procured for himſelf the Tuition of him. Having enjoy'd the Regency Ten Years together, and, by little and little, rendered himſelf alſo Maſter of the Fortreſſes, Army, Treaſure, and whatever ſupported the State; he at length refuſed, under Pretence of his Nephew's Want of Capacity, to reſign his Office; continuing to govern, (tho' his Kinſman was above Twenty Years old) not as Guardian, or Regent, but with all the Formality and Actions of the Prince, tho' he did not aſſume the Ducal Title. *Ferdinando*, however, remained attentive to his firſt Object, which was the Preſervation of the public Peace: And, therefore, would neither gratify his own warlike Diſpoſition, nor the juſt Reſentment of his Son, at the Hazard of ſo invaluable a Bleſſing. But he was the more cautious of creating any Diviſions in *Italy*, becauſe he had perceived, in ſome late dangerous Commotions, that he was hated by his Subjects; particularly by a Party among his Barons, who were ſtill attached.

attached to the old *French* Intereſt; and, as he apprehended, would, in caſe of any Rupture, invite them to invade his Dominions. To this Motive may be added, a Deſire he had to counterballance the formidable Power of the *Venetians*, which at that Time alarmed all *Italy*; and he was ſenſible, that his Union with the other Powers, with the States eſpecially of *Milan* and *Florence*, was requiſite for that Purpoſe. *A. D.* 1490.

LODOVICO SFORZA, tho' of a turbulent and ambitious Temper, could not but be pleaſed with the ſame Meaſures. For the *Venetian* Power was as much dreaded by the Sovereigns of *Milan*, as by other Princes. Beſides, it was much eaſier for him to preſerve his uſurped Authority in a Time of Peace and Tranquillity, than amidſt the Confuſion and Caſualties of War. And tho' he was always apprehenſive of *Ferdinando* and *Alfonſo*, yet he could depend upon the peaceable Diſpoſition of *Lorenzo de' Medici*, who was alſo jealous as well as himſelf, of the King of *Naples*. He was perſuaded, *Lodovico Sforza.*

more-

A. D. 1490. moreover, that the Animoſities which then ſubſiſted between *Ferdinando* and the *Venetians*, rendered an Union between them impracticable: And being ſatisfy'd that he would find it dangerous to act without, and difficult to procure an Alliance, he thought himſelf ſecure from any Attempt that could be made againſt him from that Quarter.

THERE was then the ſame Inclination for Peace in *Ferdinando*, *Lodovico*, and *Lorenzo*; partly from the ſame, and partly from different Motives: So that a Confederacy many Years before contracted, in the Name of *Ferdinando*, King of *Naples*, *Giov. Galeazzo*, Duke of *Milan*, and the Republic of *Florence*, for the mutual Defence of each other's Dominions, was with Eaſe corroborated and confirmed. This League, of ſome Years ſtanding, as I obſerved, but interrupted by various Accidents, was renewed for Twenty-five Years, in 1480, and acceded to by all the inferior Powers of *Italy*. The chief Deſign of the contracting Parties was to keep down the Power of the *Venetians*;

netians; who were without queſtion ſuperior to any of the Confederates ſeparately, but not able to cope with them when united. Their Senate ſeemed to conſider themſelves, and acted, as a Body, that had little or no Connection with the other People of *Italy*; widening every Breach, and cheriſhing and fomenting Diſcord amongſt them, in hopes of attaining, by theſe Means, the Sovereignty of *Italy*. The whole Tenor of their Councils and Conduct manifeſted their Deſign: But it appeared moſt plainly, when, upon the Death of *Filippo Maria Viſconti*, Duke of of *Milan*, they attempted, under the plauſible Pretence of preſerving the Liberties of the *Milaneſe*, to make themſelves Maſters of that Dutchy: And in a more recent Inſtance, when with open Violence they endeavoured to ſeize the Dukedom of *Ferrara*. This Confederacy produced the intended Effect, ſo far as to reſtrain the Ambition of the *Venetians*, but it did not unite the Confederates in a ſincere and ſolid Friendſhip among themſelves. Their Envy and Emulation of each other made them watchful of every Motion,

A. D. 1490.

The *Venetians.*

A. D. 1490. Motion, and jealous of every Meaſure, that they conceived might any way increaſe the Power or Credit of their Neighbours. This Precaution, however, did not make the Peace leſs ſecure: On the contrary, it created a moſt ardent Impatience in them all to quench immediately thoſe Sparks which, if neglected, might break out into a general Conflagration. Such then was the State of Affairs; theſe were the Foundations for the Tranquility of *Italy*; ſo connected, and counterpoiſed, that there was not only no Appearance of a preſent Change, but the moſt diſcerning Perſon could not deviſe, by what Counſels, Accidents, or Powers, ſuch a Peace could be diſturbed.

1492. The Death of *Lorenzo de' Modici.*

In *April* 1492, *Lorenzo de' Medici* was taken off by a premature Death; not being quite Forty-four Years of Age. His Death was a grievous Stroke to his Country which, by means of his Reputation, Prudence, and a Genius which naturally diſpoſed him to all honourable and excellent Undertakings, wonderfully flouriſhed in Riches, and in all thoſe Bleſſings and Ornaments

Ornaments which in human Affairs are the uſual Attendants of a long and ſecure Peace. His Death was indeed lamented by all *Italy*, not only on account of his Zeal and Sollicitude for the public Security, and for his great and ſucceſsful Diligence in moderating and curbing the frequent Jealouſies and Diſſenſions of *Ferdinando* and *Lodovico Sforza*, Princes of equal Ambition and Power. *A. D.* 1492.

LORENZO's Death was followed a few Months after by that of Pope *Innocent* Eighth; which laid the Foundation of further Calamities. The Public had been but little benefited by him: Yet he was commendable in one Particular; which was, that after he had ſoon laid down the Arms he had unſucceſsfully taken up, at the Commencement of his Reign, againſt *Ferdinando*, at the Inſtigation of his diſcontented Barons; giving himſelf up entirely to Indolence and Eaſe, he never would concern himſelf, nor ſuffered any that depended on him to intermeddle in any Project that might diſturb the Happineſs of *Italy*. Death of *Innocent* the 8th.

A. D. 1492.

To *Innocent* ſucceeded *Roderigo Borgia*, of *Valenza*, a Royal City in *Spain*. He was an antient Cardinal, and one of the moſt conſiderable Prelates in the Court of *Rome*. His Election was owing partly to the Diſputes that aroſe between the two Cardinals, Heads of Factions, *Aſcanio Sforza*, and *Giuliano* of *San Piero in Vincola*, but chiefly to a Simony unknown in former Times: For *Borgia* openly corrupted many of the Cardinals, ſome with Money, and others with Promiſes of profitable Places and Benefices, of which he had many at that Time in his Power; and they, without any Regard to the Precepts of the Goſpel, were not aſhamed of making a Traffick of the ſacred Treaſures, under the Name of divine Authority, and that in the moſt high and eminent Seat of the Chriſtian Religion.

Election of *Alexander* VI.

Cardinal Ascanio had the principal Hand in this deteſtable Work, and was employed as Agent for ſuch abominable Contracts. He influenced ſeveral with Hopes of Preferment, and alſo

alſo by his bad Example: For his Heart being corrupted by an immoderate Thirſt of Riches, he bargained, for the Price of his Iniquity, to have the Vice-Chancellor-ſhip, (the moſt profitable Poſt in the Pope's Diſpoſal) the Revenues of divers Churches and Caſtles, and even the Pope's own Family Palace, with all its magnificent Furniture of an immenſe Value. But divine Juſtice overtook him; for he became an Object of Scorn aud Hatred to all Mankind, who were fill'd with Horror at an Election procured by ſuch black and enormous Artifices; eſpecially as *Borgia*'s impious Life was every where notorious *. The King of *Naples*, we are aſſured, upon hearing the News, diſſembled his Grief in public, but with Tears, (which he was not accuſtomed to ſhed at the Death of his Children) told his Queen, that this Creation would prove fatal to *Italy*, and a Scandal to Chriſtendom: A Prognoſtic worthy of the Prudence of *Ferdinando I*

A. D. 1492.

* *Aſcanio* was carried Priſoner into *France*, and after his Return, according to *Giovio*, was poiſoned.

A D. 1492.

ALEXANDER the Sixth, (for ſo he would be call'd) was endowed with wonderful Acuteneſs, and extraordinary Sagacity; had a ſurpriſing Genius in ſuggeſting Expedients in the Cabinet, an uncommon Efficacy in Perſuaſion, and in all Matters of Conſequence an incredible Application and Dexterity. But theſe great Qualities were abundantly overballanced by his Vices. For he was of very impure Manners, Inſincere, Shameleſs, Falſe, Faithleſs and Irreligious, without Probity, inſatiably covetous, immoderately fond of Dominion, barbarouſly cruel, and ardently ſollicitous, at any Rate, to exalt his Children, who were numerous, and amongſt them ſome (that he might not want Inſtruments to execute his villainous Deſigns) as bad as himſelf *.

Piero de' Medici.

THE Death of *Lorenzo de' Medici* occaſioned a Change of no leſs Importance in *Florence*, than that of *Innocent* to the Church. *Piero*, the eldeſt Son of *Lorenzo*'s three Sons, ſucceeded, without Oppo-

* *Cæſar*, *Franceſco*, *Giuffre*, and *Lucretia*, were the Names of his Children.

Oppoſition, to his Father's Greatneſs *: But neither his Age nor Underſtanding any ways qualify'd him for ſo important a Charge; nor was he capable of proceeding with that Moderation in his domeſtic and foreign Concerns, nor had he that Prudence to temporiſe with his Allies, for which his Father was ſo remarkable: who by his Conduct, whilſt living, had improved both the Republic and his own Condition, and, dying, left every one convinced, that principally thro' his Means the Peace of *Italy* had been preſerved. A. D. 1492.

PIERO no ſooner undertook the Adminiſtration of the Republic, than he ſwerved from his Father's Counſels, and not conſulting the principal Citizens, without whoſe Concurrence ſeldom any Reſolutions were taken in Matters of Importance, ſuffered himſelf to be intirely directed by *Virginio Orſini*, his Relation; *Piero*'s Wife and Mother being both of the *Orſini* Family. At *Virginio*'s Perſuaſion he contracted ſo great a Friendſhip

* *Lorenzo*'s three Sons were *Piero*, *Giovanni* who was afterwards Pope *Leo* the 10th, and *Giuliano*.

A. D. 1492. with King *Ferdinando* and his Son *Alfonſo*, on whom *Virginio* depended, as gave *Lodovico Sforza* great Cauſe to fear, that whenever the *Aragonians* * ſhould think proper to break with him, they would alſo, thro' the Intereſt of *Piero*, have the Aſſiſtance of the *Florentines*. This Correſpondence, the Source and Origin of all the enſuing Evils, tho' in the Beginning carried on very privately, did nevertheleſs create Suſpicions in the vigilant and penetrating Mind of *Lodovico*.

By antient Cuſtom all Chriſtian Princes were uſed to ſend Ambaſſadors to pay their Obedience to the new Pontiff, and adore him as Vicar of Chriſt on Earth. *Lodovico Sforza*, who had a Propenſity of affecting to appear ſuperior in Prudence and Contrivance to others, had propoſed that all the Ambaſſadors of the League ſhould enter *Rome* the ſame Day, and preſent themſelves in a Body to the Pope in Conſiſtory, and one, in the Name of all, ſhould make a formal Harangue. This

* The firſt of the then reigning Race of *Neapolitan* Kings was King of *Aragon*, and from him his Deſcendants were called *Aragonians*.

This, he ſuggeſted, would convince all *Italy*, there was ſo much Unity and Benevolence amongſt them, that they would appear as a Body under one Head, and give great Reputation to the League; and that ſuch a Conduct was then neceſſary, not only Reaſon, but a freſh Example ſeemed to demonſtrate. For the late Pope, grounding his Hopes on the Diviſions of the Allies, which he inferred from their ſeparate Counſels, and their paying him Obedience at different times, had ventured to attack the Kingdom of *Naples*. A. D. 1492.

FERDINANDO very readily approved of this Scheme of *Lodovico*, as did alſo the *Florentines*; *Piero* not contradicting in Council, out of Deference to their Authority; but he murmured at it in private. He was deputed by the Republic for one of their Ambaſſadors, and had determined to make a magnificent and almoſt Royal Appearance, but perceived, that by entering *Rome* and preſenting himſelf before the Pope with the other Ambaſſadors, the Splendor of his Pomp in ſo great a Crowd

A. D. 1492. would be much eclipſed. In which juvenile Vanity he was confirmed by *Gentile* Biſhop of *Arezzo*, his Colleague, who, in regard to his Epiſcopal Dignity, and of his Profeſſion of thoſe Studies which they call Humanity, had expected to make the congratulatory Oration to the Pope, in the Name of the *Florentines*, and was extremely mortified that, by this unuſual and unexpected Method, he ſhould be debarred from diſplaying his Talents in ſo auguſt and ſolemn an Aſſembly. *Piero*, incited partly by his own Levity, and partly by the Biſhop's Ambition, but unwilling that *Lodovico* ſhould know that he oppoſed his Motion, requeſted the King to repreſent to him, that upon Conſideration he had Reaſon to think the Ceremony could not be performed in common without Confuſion, and therefore adviſed him to conſent that each City in conformity to paſt Uſage ſhould proceed ſeparately. The King was willing to gratify him; but not ſo far as to take all the Blame and Diſpleaſure of *Lodovico* upon himſelf; and therefore he ſatisfied him more in the Effect than

he

he pleaſed him in the Manner of accompliſhing it: For he frankly owned that he had no other Cauſe for diſagreeing to what he had before conſented but the Importunities of *Piero de' Medici*. *Lodovico* ſhewed more Diſcontent at this ſudden Change, than the Nature of ſuch a Trifle ſeemed to require; and complained very bitterly that it being known to the Pope, and the whole Court of *Rome* that he was the Author of the firſt Reſolution, it ſhould now be retracted on purpoſe to make him comtemptible in the Eyes of the World. But he was much more diſpleaſed to find, by this little and inſignificant Accident, that *Piero* held private Intelligence with *Ferdinando*; of which he was much more convinced by what enſued. *A. D.* 1492.

FRANCESCHETTO CIBO of *Genoa*, a natural Son of *Innocent* the 8th, was in Poſſeſſion of *Anguillara*, *Cervetri*, and ſome other ſmall Caſtles in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. After the Death of his Father, he went to live in *Florence*, under the Protection of *Piero de' Medici*,

A. D. 1492. *Medici*, whoſe Siſter, *Maddalena*, he had married. He was no ſooner arrived, than *Piero* perſuaded him to ſell thoſe Caſtles to his Friend *Virginio Orſini* for Forty Thouſand Ducats. *Ferdinando* was at the Bottom of this Affair, and ſecretly lent the beſt Part of the Purchaſe-Money; not doubting but it would turn to his Advantage to have *Virginio Orſini*, who was an Officer in his Army, and alſo his Relation, Maſter of ſuch ſtrong Places near *Rome*. For he ever conſidered the Power of the Pontiffs as a very likely Inſtrument to diſturb the Quiet of his Kingdom, which was an antient Fief of the *Roman* Church, and extends itſelf for a great Number of Miles along the Borders of the Eccleſiaſtical State. He remembered the Troubles they had occaſioned both to his Father and himſelf; and being ſenſible of the Diſputes too apt to ariſe on account of Limits, Tributes, Collation of Benefices, Appeals of his Barons, beſides other Cavils common to all neighbouring Princes, eſpecally between a Vaſſal and the Lord of the Fief, he always made it a principal Point to keep under his Power and

Virginio Orſini the firſt Cauſe of the Diſturbances in *Italy*.

and Influence all, or, at leaſt, the chief of the *Roman* Barons, and more ſo now, that he imagined *Lodovico Sforza* had too great an Aſcendant over the Pope's Counſels, by means of his Brother, Cardinal *Aſcanio*. Some thought he was apprehenſive that the Ambition and Hatred of Pope *Calixtus* the 3d, who was *Alexander's* Uncle, might be hereditary. *Calixtus*, out of an immoderate Deſire of aggrandizing his Nephew *Piero Borgia*, intended, after the Deceaſe of *Alfonſo*, Father to this *Ferdinando*, to have ſent an Army to diſpoſſeſs him of his Kingdom, which he pretended was reverted to the Church: And he would have executed this Scheme, had he not been prevented by Death; ungratefully forgetting, as Men are but too often unmindful of Benefits, that it was through *Alfonſo*, in whoſe Kingdom of *Aragon* he was born, and whom he had long ſerved as his Miniſter, that he had been inveſted with ſo many Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, and chiefly through his Intereſt had been created Pope. A. D. 1492.

CERTAIN

A. D. 1492.

CERTAIN it is, that great Men do not always diſcern and determine right; the Weakneſs of human Underſtanding will ſometimes betray itſelf by Signs. *Ferdinando*, though reputed a Prince of great Prudence, did not ſufficiently conſider the Conſequence of this Purchaſe, which could be to him of little Benefit, in Compariſon of the great Miſchiefs it might produce, by provoking thoſe to enter on new Schemes, whoſe principal Buſineſs and Intereſt it was to preſerve Peace and Tranquillity. The Pope, enraged at this Encroachment on the Pontifical Authority, pretended, that theſe Caſtles by their Alienation without his Knowledge, according to the Eccleſiaſtical Law, devolved to the Apoſtolic See. Then, publiſhing to the World the Purpoſes for which they were bought, he filled all *Italy* with his Complaints againſt *Ferdinando*, *Piero*, and *Virginio*; proteſting at the ſame time he would, to the utmoſt of his Power, preſerve the Dignity and Rights of the Holy See.

LODOVICO

A. D. 1492.

LODOVICO SFORZA, who was ever jealous of *Ferdinando*'s Actions, and had vainly perſuaded himſelf, that *Alexander* might be directed by his and *Aſcanio*'s Counſels, conſidered the Diminution of the Pope's Grandeur as his own: But what gave him the moſt Uneaſineſs, was the convincing Proof he now had of the Friendſhip and ſtrict Union between *Piero* and *Ferdinando*. To obviate the dangerous Conſequences, and to ingratiate himſelf with his Holineſs, he incited him by all he could ſuggeſt to preſerve his own Dignity, putting him in mind that he ought not ſo much to regard what was tranſacting at preſent, as to reflect how highly it affected his Honour that the Majeſty of that eminent Degree to which he was exalted ſhould be ſo openly deſpiſed by his own Vaſſals in the very firſt Days of his Pontificate. That it was not to be ſuppoſed that the covetous Deviſe of *Virginio*, the Importance of the Caſtles, or any other like Reaſon, had induced *Ferdinando* to this Step, but only his Inclination to try the Patience

A. D. 1492. Patience and Spirit of his Holineſs by Injuries which at the firſt View appeared but ſmall, but if tamely ſuffered, would encourage him to attempt every Day ſtill greater Provocations. That the preſent King had the ſame Ambition as his Predeceſſors, who were ever Enemies to the *Roman* Church, had often carried their Armies againſt the Popes, and more than once ſeized on *Rome*. Had not the ſame *Ferdinando* twice ſent his Son, at the Head of his Troops, to the Gates of that City? Had he not been almoſt continually in Enmity with the Popes? And what incited him at preſent againſt his Holineſs in particular, was not only the Example of the other Kings, not only his natural Ambition of Dominion, but alſo a Deſire of Revenge for the Injuries he had received from his Uncle Pope *Calixtus*. He begged of him to give ſerious Attention to what he ſaid, and not to put up with the firſt Affront, unleſs he could ſit down content with his pompous Titles and external Marks of Veneration; for by tamely ſubmitting, he would incur the univerſal Scorn of Mankind, and give Encouragement

ment to farther Encroachments, and more dangerous Plots: Whereas, if he exerted himſelf on this Occaſion, he would eſtabliſh his Reputation, and preſerve the Majeſty, Grandeur, and Veneration due to the *Roman* Pontiff. To Perſuaſions he added what was ſtill more efficacious, for he inſtantly lent him Forty Thouſand Ducats, and provided Three Hundred Men at Arms, to be maintained between them, but to be diſpoſed of as his Holineſs ſhould think proper. To avoid, however, embroiling himſelf in new Troubles, he ſollicited *Ferdinando* to diſpoſe *Virginio* to find out ſome fair Means for appeaſing the Pope, hinting to him the fatal Conſequences which would enſue from ſo inconſiderable a Beginning. But with more Freedom and Earneſtneſs he admoniſhed *Piero de' Medici*, reminding him how often *Lorenzo* his Father, equally a Friend to himſelf and *Ferdinando*, had impartially compoſed their Diſputes; whereby he greatly contributed to the Preſervation of the Peace and Tranquillity of *Italy*. He therefore intreated him to imitate his illuſtrious Parent, rather than, by entering A. D. 1492.

into

A. D. 1492. into new Schemes, give Occaſion to, nay urge ſome Potentate to purſue Meaſures prejudicial to the general Good. He repreſented to him how greatly the long Friendſhip between the Houſes of *Sforza* and *Medici* had contributed to their mutual Proſperity and Reputation, and laid before him the Injuries his Father, his Anceſtors, and the Republic of *Florence* had ſuſtained from the *Aragonians*; and how often *Ferdinando*, and *Alfonſo* before him, had both by Fraud and Arms attempted to make themſelves Maſters of *Tuſcany*. Theſe Remonſtrances did more Harm than Good. For *Ferdinando* thought it beneath him to yield to *Lodovico* and *Aſcanio*, from whoſe Inſtigations he perſuaded himſelf that the Indignation of the Pope proceeded, and being preſſed alſo by his Son *Alfonſo*, he ſecretly perſuaded *Virginio* to take Poſſeſſion of the Caſtles, without Delay, by Virtue of his Contract, promiſing to ſupport him againſt any Oppoſition. But, with his uſual Artifice, he propoſed to the Pope ſeveral Plans for an Accommodation; and at the ſame time privately counſeled *Virginio* to agree on no other Terms than keeping

keeping Poſſeſſion of the Caſtles on ſatisfying his Holineſs with a Sum of Money. Hence *Virginio* taking Courage, ſeveral times refuſed thoſe Conditions, which *Ferdinando* himſelf, not to incenſe the Pope too far, earneſtly preſſed him to accept. A. D. 1492.

LODOVICO, finding all his Endeavours to detach *Piero* from *Ferdinando*'s Intereſt fruſtrated, and that thro' his Obſtinacy he was likely to be deprived of the Friendſhip of the Republic of *Florence*, which had ever been his chief Dependance, alarmed at the imminent Danger, thought it high Time to conſult his Safety. He was ſatisfied the *Aragonians* eagerly deſired to remove him from the Government of his Nephew; for tho' *Ferdinando*, Maſter in the Art of Simulation and Diſſimulation*, kept himſelf on the Reſerve, *Alfonſo*, a Man of a very frank and open Temper, ſtill freſhly exclaimed at the Oppreſſion of his Son-in-law; and uttered, with more

* *Simulation*, for inſtance, is when a wicked Man puts on a Maſk of Goodneſs, and *Diſſimulation* when an Enemy conceals his Hatred within his Breaſt.

A. D. 1492. more Paſſion than Prudence, ſeveral injurious Words with Menaces. He was alſo informed how *Iſabella*, the Wife of *Giovanni Galeazzo*, a Woman of a maſculine Spirit, was ever ſolliciting her Father and Grandfather, that, if they were not to be moved by the Shame of the Indignity offered to her Huſband and herſelf, they would take ſome Concern at leaſt for their Lives, of which they and their Children ſtood in Danger *. But what moſt affected *Lodovico*, was the Temper of his People, who were not only exaſperated at the unuſual Taxes he had raiſed, but deteſted him for his Treatment of *Giovanni Galeazzo*, their rightful Lord. And tho' he laboured to render the *Aragonians* ſuſpected to the People of *Milan* of a Deſign to make themſelves Maſters of that Dutchy, as belonging to them of antient Right by the Will of *Filippo Maria Viſconti*, who bequeathed it to *Alfonſo* Father of *Ferdinando*, and that, to facilitate this Deſign, they endeavoured to remove him from

* In *Giovio*, and *Corio*, a Letter to this Purpoſe from *Iſabella* to her Father and Grandfather is to be ſeen at length.

from the Government; yet he found this Artifice not ſufficient to moderate the general Hatred, but that it rather confirmed the Public in the Opinion, that the deteſtable Ambition of Government is capable of leading Men to the Commiſſion of all Kinds of Wickedneſs. Wherefore after he had for ſome time revolved in his Mind the preſent State of Affairs, and the dangerous Situation he was in, he directed all his Endeavours to provide himſelf with new Supports and Alliances, which he thought might be eaſily effected: For knowing that the Pope was provoked againſt *Ferdinando*, and that the *Venetians* were deſirous that the Confederacy, which for ſo many Years had baffled all their Deſigns, ſhould be diſſolved, he propoſed to both to enter into a League with him for their common Benefit. But Revenge, and every other Paſſion in *Alexander*'s Breaſt, gave way to the immoderate Ambition of ſeeing his Children exalted. Other Popes, to conceal their Infamy, were wont to term them Nephews; but he took Delight in letting all the World know they were his Children. As at *A. D.* 1492.

A. D. 1492. preſent no readier Way offered to gratify his high Views for their Preferment, he ſollicited *Ferdinando* to give one of the natural Daughters of *Alfonſo* in Marriage to one of his Sons, and for her Portion ſome rich Territory in the Kingdom of *Naples*. 'Till *Alexander* was excluded from all Hopes of ſucceeding in this Match, he gave rather his Ear than his Heart to *Lodovico*'s Offers. But had they been accepted of at that Time, the Peace of *Italy* would not, perhaps, have been ſo ſoon diſturbed. *Ferdinando* was not averſe to the Match; but *Alfonſo*, abhorring the Pope's Pride and Ambition, would never give his Conſent; wherefore, without ſhewing any Diſlike to the Alliance, they raiſed Difficulties concerning the Dowry, and ſo eluded the Pope's Requeſt, at which *Alexander* was ſo provoked, that he reſolved at once to engage with *Lodovico* and the *Venetians*; being incited thereto by Ambition, Rage, and in ſome meaſure by Fear. For not only *Virginio*, who was very powerful in the Eccleſiaſtical State on account of the Protection of the King of *Naples* and the *Florentines*, and

and for his many Followers among the *Guelph* Party, but alſo *Proſpero* and *Fabritio Colonna*, Heads of that noble Family, were Officers in *Ferdinando*'s Army; and the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*, a Perſon of great Authority, ſuſpecting the Pope had a Deſign againſt his Life, was retired to *Oſtia*, of which Place he was Biſhop, and had declared for *Ferdinando*, tho' he had been formerly his profeſſed Enemy, and had inſtigated, firſt his Uncle Pope *Sixtus*, and then *Innocent* againſt him. A. D. 1492.

THE *Venetians*, tho' pleaſed at theſe Miſunderſtandings, were not yet ſo forward to enter into the new League as was expected, on account of their Diſtruſt of *Alexander*'s Sincerity, which became every Day more and more ſuſpicious. They alſo conſidered how they had been often betrayed by the Popes *Sixtus* and *Innocent*, his immediate Predeceſſors. From the laſt they had ſuffered many Inconveniences, without reaping any Benefit; and *Sixtus*, in the greateſt Heat of the War againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*,

A. D. 1492. which he himſelf had preſſed them to undertake, changing his Mind, employed not only his ſpiritual but alſo his temporal Arms, in conjunction with the reſt of the *Italians*, againſt them. Yet the Sollicitations of *Lodovico*, who had been indefatigable in treating with the particular Members, prevailed at length on the Senate; and in *April* 1493, a new Confederacy was formed between the Pope, the *Venetians*, and *Giovanni Galeazzo*, Duke of *Milan* (whoſe Name was made uſe of in all public Tranſactions) for the common Safety, and particularly for the Support of *Lodovico* in the Government. It was ſtipulated that the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan* ſhould each of them ſend immediately Two Hundred Men at Arms to protect the Eccleſiaſtical State, and to aſſiſt him with theſe, or if needful with greater Forces, to diſpoſſeſs *Virginio* of the Caſtles *.

League between the Pope, *Lodovico*, and the *Venetians*.

THESE Proceedings greatly alarmed all

* The Armies in thoſe Days conſiſted of three different Corps, Men in heavy Armour on Horſeback, Light Horſe, and Infantry.

all *Italy*, eſpecially as the Duke of *Milan* had abandoned a League which for Twelve Years had been the Pledge of its Security. For in that Confederacy it had been expreſly ſtipulated, that no one of the Confederates ſhould enter into any new Alliance without the Approbation of all the contracting Parties; wherefore that Union being now diſſolved, in which conſiſted the Safety of the Whole, and the Minds of Princes full of Suſpicions and Reſentment, who could not but foreſee, that, to the univerſal Detriment, Fruits muſt grow up conformable to theſe Seeds?

A. D. 1492.

As ſoon as *Alfonſo* Duke of *Calabria*, and *Piero de' Medici* were appriſed of this Alliance, they judged it the beſt Way to be before-hand, and therefore willingly hearkened to *Proſpero* and *Fabritio Colonna*; who, at the ſecret Inſtigation of the Biſhop of *Oſtia*, offered to ſeize on *Rome* by Surpriſe, with the Help of the *Ghibelline* Faction, and their own Men, provided the *Orſini* would aſſiſt them, and the Duke of *Calabria* could be, at the ſame time, within three Days March of that

A. D. 1492. City. But *Ferdinando*, now become more willing to pacify the Pope, by correcting his former precipitate Measures, than to provoke his farther Rage, would by no means agree to a Scheme that must produce greater Evils; and resolved, in good Earnest, to try how to compromise the Affair of the Castles; being persuaded that, when this Obstacle was removed, Matters would easily return into the same peaceable Channel. But by removing the Causes, the Effects that sprung from them are not always removed. For, as it frequently happens that Resolutions taken out of Fear seldom appear sufficient to the Fearful, thus *Lodovico* imagined he had not applyed Remedy enough to his Danger, and began to reflect, that the Pope's Interest and that of the *Venetians* being different from his, he could not rely on them for any Length of Time, and might therefore be brought into great Streights. The Fear of this induced him to attempt a Cure of the present Malady at all Events, without considering how dangerous it is to give a stronger Dose than the Nature of the Disease, or the Constitution

tution of the Patient will admit: And, as if plunging into greater Difficulties could only free him from the firſt, ſince he could not rely on his own Forces, or his Friendſhip with the *Italians*, he reſolved on inviting *Charles* the Eighth, King of *France*, to invade the Kingdom of *Naples*, to which he laid Claim from the antient Rights of the Houſe of *Anjou*. *A. D.* 1492.

Claim of the *French* to the Kingdom of *Naples*.

THE Kingdom of *Naples*, in the Bulls and Inveſtitures of the *Roman* Church improperly called *Sicily* on this Side the *Faro*, is a moſt antient Fief of the Church. It was unjuſtly ſeized by *Manfredi*, a natural Son of the Emperor *Frederic* the Second, and was by *Urban* the Fourth, with *Sicily*, given in Fief, under the Name of the *Two Sicilies* (one on this Side, the other on the other Side the *Faro*) in the Year 1264, to *Charles* Count of *Provence* and *Anjou*, Brother to that *Lewis* King of *France*, who, famous for his Exploits, but more ſo for his Piety, deſerved to be inrolled amongſt the Saints. This *Charles* by Force of Arms got Poſſeſſion of thoſe Dominions, the Title of which

A. D. 1492. which had been conferred on him by the Authority of the Church, and left it to his Son *Charles* the Second. To him ſucceeded *Roberto*, and to him, who left no male Iſſue, *Giovanna*, Daughter to *Charles* Duke of *Calabria*, who died before his Father. *Giovanna*, for her Weakneſs, and diſſolute Courſe of Life, was very much deſpiſed; and the Deſcendants of *Charles* the Firſt by *Charles* the Second (who left ſeveral Children) endeavoured to dethrone her. The Queen, to procure Aſſiſtance, adopted for her Son *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, Brother to that King *Charles*, whom the *French* thought proper to diſtinguiſh by the Name of *Sage*, for gaining many Battles without running much Riſque. This *Lewis* marched into *Italy* with a powerful Army, where he found *Giovanna* taken off by a violent Death, and *Charles*, called *Durazzo*, a Deſcendant of the firſt *Charles*, placed on the Throne. *Lewis* was very ſucceſsful, but in the Midſt of his Victories died of a Fever in *Puglia*: So the Family of *Anjou*, by the aforeſaid Adoption, got only *Provence*, which till then had been poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed by the Kings of *Naples*, De- A. D.
ſcendants of the firſt *Charles*. From this 1492.
Adoption aroſe the Claim of the Dukes of *Anjou* to the Kingdom of *Naples*. And the Popes, whenever they had any Quarrel with the *Neapolitan* Kings, invited the *Anjouins* to invade their Dominions; which was often done, but without Succeſs.

To *Charles Durazzo* ſucceeded his Son *Ladiſlao*, who dying without Iſſue in 1414, the Crown came to his Siſter *Giovanna* the Second, a Name inauſpicious to that Kingdom as well as to both theſe Queens: For ſhe, likewiſe, giving herſelf up to Laſciviouſneſs, put the Reins of Government into the Hands of thoſe ſhe intruſted with her Perſon. This Deportment gave Pope *Martin* the Fifth an Opportunity of ſending for *Lewis* the Third, Count of *Provence*, to invade her Dominions: But ſhe extricated herſelf at that Time from all Difficulties, by adopting *Alfonſo* King of *Aragon* and *Sicily*, with whom, nevertheleſs, ſhe afterwards quarrelled, and cancelled her Deed upon the

A. D. 1492. the Pretext of his Ingratitude. And then calling to her Aid and adopting the ſame *Lewis*, who by War had conſtrained her to make the firſt Adoption, ſhe got the better of *Alfonſo*, expelled him her Kingdom, and reigned peaceably the Remainder of her Days. Dying without Iſſue ſhe left her Dominions by Will, as was reported, to *René*, Duke of *Anjou*, and Count of *Provence*, Brother of the adopted *Lewis*, who died within a Year of his Adoption. But many of the Barons being diſſatisfied with the Succeſſion of *René*, and ſpreading a Report that the Will was forged by the *Neapolitans*, a conſiderable Party of the Barons and People recalled *Alfonſo*. This produced the bloody Wars between *René* and *Alfonſo*, that for ſo many Years tore to Pieces ſo noble a Kingdom, which alone, in a manner, ſupported all the Expences. Hence, from contrary Inclinations, aroſe the *Aragonian* and *Anjouin* Factions, not to this Day wholly extinguiſhed; their Claims and Pretenſions ſtill varying in Proceſs of Time as the Popes, influenced more by Ambition or by the Neceſſity of

the

the Times than by Juſtice, granted Inveſtitures. A. D. 1492.

ALFONSO fought ſeveral Battles with *René*, and being more powerful, as well as a better Soldier, came off always victorious. Dying without legitimate Iſſue, he left the Kingdom of *Naples*, as an Acquiſition of his own, and not belonging to the Kingdom of *Aragon*; to this *Ferdinando*, his natural Son, without mentioning his Brother *Giovanni* who ſucceeded him in the Kingdoms of *Aragon* and *Sicily*. *Giovanni*, *René*'s Son, with the Aſſiſtance of the principal Barons, gave *Ferdinando* a great deal of Trouble at the Beginning of his Reign: But at laſt by his Valour and good Fortune he defeated them, and had nothing more to fear during the Life of *René*, who ſurvived his Son ſeveral Years. *René* died without Iſſue male, but by Will made *Charles*, his Brother's Son, his Heir; who likewiſe having no Iſſue bequeath'd all his Dominions to *Lewis* the Eleventh, King of *France*. And tho' the Duke of *Lorrain*, Son of a Daughter of *René*, laid claim to his

A. D. 1492. his Grandfather's Patrimony, *Lewis* took immediate Poſſeſſion of *Provence*: As for his Right to *Anjou* it was not diſputed, being a Fief of *France* not inheritable by Females. The Pretenſions of the *Anjouins* to the Kingdom of *Naples*, by this Will, devolved to *Lewis*, whoſe Son, *Charles* the Eighth, was a very powerful Adverſary to *Ferdinando*; as indeed any King in his Situation had it in his Power to prove, for the Kingdon of *France* had never been in a more flouriſhing Condition ſince the Time of *Charles* the Great, for the Number of its Inhabitants, the Glory and Power of its Arms, its Riches and Authority, its Dominions being lately extended in all the three Parts into which the Antients divided *Gaul* *. Forty Years before, *Charles* the Seventh, after many and dangerous Battles, had added to his Sovereignty *Normandy* and *Guyenne*, which had been poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh*: *Lewis* the Eleventh, in his latter Years, was in Poſſeſſion of *Provence*, *Burgundy*, and almoſt all *Picardy*; and *Charles* the Eighth, by Marriage, became Maſter of *Britany*.

Preſent State of the Kingdom of *France*.

CHARLES

* This antient Diviſion of *Gaul* is to be ſeen in the Beginning of *Ceſar*'s Com. *Pliny* lib. 4. *Strabo* lib. 4.

A. D. 1492.

CHARLES wanted no Inclination to attempt the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples* as his Right. A fond Ambition had taken Root in him, by a Kind of natural Inſtinct from a Child, and was continually cultivated by his favourite Attendants. They flattered his Vanity by ſuggeſting that he had a fair Opportunity of ſurpaſſing the Glory of his Predeceſſors, ſince the Acquiſition of *Naples* would facilitate the Conqueſt of the *Turkiſh* Empire. *Charles*'s Deſigns being no longer a Secret, *Lodovico Sforza* thought it an eaſy Matter to perſuade him to what he was already inclined. He placed alſo no ſmall Confidence in the Intereſt and Acquaintance which the Family of *Sforza* had contracted in the Court of *France*, for both he and his Brother before him had by many Demonſtrations of Affection, and repeated kind Offices, continued a Friendſhip, begun in *Franceſco* their Father's Time, who thirty Years before having received from *Lewis* the Eleventh, who always abhorred meddling with the Affairs of *Italy*, the City of *Savona* in Fief,

A. D. 1492. Fief, together with all his Pretenſions on *Genoa*, formerly in ſubjection to his Father, never failed to ſupport that Prince with his Counſel and Aſſiſtance in all his Dangers. *Lodovico*, to render his Sollicitations of greater Weight, and thinking it too dangerous to be ſingular in kindling ſo great a Combuſtion, applied to the Pope with Arguments proper to gratify both his Ambition and Reſentment, endeavouring to convince him, that neither the Friendſhip, nor Arms of any of the *Italian* Powers, would enable him to revenge himſelf on *Ferdinando*, or procure Preferments for his Children. *Alexander* embraced the Scheme, from a natural Love of Novelty, or to frighten the *Aragonians* into what he could not obtain by fair Means: On which he concerted Meaſures with *Lodovico*, and they very ſecretly diſpatched Agents to ſound the Inclinations of the King of *France* and his Privy Council. And flattering themſelves they would not be averſe to the Propoſals, *Lodovico* was wholly bent to execute his Deſign, and ſent to the *French* Court publicly, tho' under another Pretence,

Charles,

Charles Barbiano, Count of *Belgioioſa*, who, after many private Conferences with the King and his Miniſters, was introduced into the Council, where, in the Preſence of a great many Prelates, Nobles, and Peers of the Realm, he addreſſed the King, as we are told, in the following Manner: *

A. D. 1493.

The Pope and *Lodovico* ſollicit *Charles* the 8th to come into *Italy*.

Count *Belgioioſa*'s Speech before the King of *France* in Council.

LODOVICO SFORZA makes a Tender to your moſt Chriſtian Majeſty of his Treaſure and Forces, to aſſiſt you in the Acquiſition of the Kingdom of *Naples*. And if any one ſhould, for particular Reaſons, ſuſpect his Faith and Sincerity in this Propoſal, I am perſuaded that Perſon will renounce his ill-grounded Suſpicion, and intirely change his Opinion, when he comes to reflect, with the leaſt Attention, on the antient and perpetual Obligations which *Lodovico* himſelf, his Brother *Galeazzo*, and their Father *Franceſco*, firſt lay under to *Lewis* the Eleventh your Father of moſt glorious Memory, and afterwards to your Majeſty. And much greater Cauſe will ſuch a Perſon have for his Change of Sentiments, if

* This Speech much reſembles a Letter writ in *Latin* by *Lodovico Sforza* to the King: Which Letter is to be ſeen in *Corio*.

A. D. 1493. if he conſiders, that from this Enterprize many Diſadvantages may ariſe, and but little Hopes of any Profit can poſſibly reſult to *Lodovico:* Whilſt the Fruits of Victory to your Majeſty will be a vaſt Increaſe of Glory, the additional Dominion of a fine Kingdom, and an auſpicious Opportunity for the unbounded Extent of your Fame and Empire. A juſt Revenge for the Plots and Injuries ſuffered from the *Aragonians* is all that *Lodovico* can propoſe to himſelf. If, on the other Hand, this Attempt, however promiſing, ſhould not ſucceed, your Majeſty's Greatneſs would nevertheleſs remain undiminiſhed. But in ſuch a Caſe, every one knows that *Lodovico*, hated by many, and deſpis'd by all, for ſuch a Miſcarriage, could find no Remedy to the Dangers which muſt enſue. What Room then can there be for ſuſpecting the Counſel of a Prince, whoſe Circumſtances, whatever be the Event, are ſo unequal and diſadvantageous with regard to thoſe of your Majeſty? The Motives that induce you to ſo glorious an Expedition are ſo evident of themſelves, that they admit of no Doubt. The Juſtice of the Cauſe,

Cauſe, the Facility of the Conqueſt, and the vaſt Fruits of the Victory, which are all the Arguments that are principally to be conſidered, concur in a moſt ample Manner. It is well known to all the World that the lawful Title is, for ſeveral good Reaſons, ſolely veſted in the Houſe of *Anjou*, of which your Majeſty is the legitimate Heir: And the Succeſſion is juſtly claimed by the *French* Monarchs, as Deſcendants from *Charles*, who firſt of the Blood Royal of *France* obtained that Kingdom by the Authority of the *Roman* Pontiffs, and by his own Valour. And the Conqueſt is as eaſy as it is juſt: For who knows not how inferior in Forces and Authority the King of *Naples* is to the firſt and moſt powerful King in Chriſtendom? How great and formidable is the Name of the *French* all over the World! And what a Terror are your Arms to all Nations! The petty Dukes of *Anjou* never attacked the Kingdom of *Naples* without putting it in very great Danger. It is ſtill freſh in Memory, that *Giovanni*, Son of *René*, had in his Hands the Victory againſt this *Ferdinando*, when it was wreſted from him by Pope A. D. 1493.

A. D. 1492. *Pius* with the more powerful Aſſiſtance of *Franceſco Sforza*, who, as every one knows, acted in that Affair by the Direction of your Royal Father. What then may not be performed by the Arms and Authority of ſo mighty a King, who has, beſides, greater Opportunities, and leſſer Difficulties than attended *René* and *Giovanni*? For thoſe Princes, who then obſtructed the Victory, can with the greateſt Eaſe annoy the King of *Naples:* The Pope by Land, on account of the Neighbourhood of the eccleſiaſtic State, and the Duke of *Milan*, from the Conveniency of *Genoa*, by Sea. Neither will you have any Oppoſition from the reſt of the *Italians:* For the *Venetians* will not expoſe themſelves to Dangers and Expences, nor deprive themſelves of the Friendſhip they have for a long Time cultivated with the Kings of *France*, for the Sake of preſerving *Ferdinando* the moſt bitter Enemy of their Greatneſs. Nor is it credible that the *Florentines* will depart from their natural Attachment to your Family: And were they inclined to it, of what Conſequence would that Oppoſition be to ſo great a Power? How often has that warlike Nation

of

of the *French*, in Spite of all *Italy*, paſſed the *Alps*, and as often, with inеſtimable Glory and Felicity, returned with Victory and Triumph! And when was the Kingdom of *France* ſo glorious, ſo happy, ſo powerful, and in ſo calm and ſetled a State of Peace with all its Neighbours, as at preſent? Had the Times been thus propitious in your Father's Days, he would, without Doubt, have undertaken this Expedition. Nor are the Difficulties which your Enemies have to ſtruggle with leſs increaſe than your Advantages over them. The *Anjouin* Party is ſtill powerful in that Kingdom. Great Dependance is to be laid on the many Princes and Nobles unjuſtly baniſhed of late Years. Beſides, ſo provoking have been the Injuries that *Ferdinando* has, on all Occaſions, offered to the Barons and People, and even to thoſe of the *Aragonian* Faction; ſo great has been his Faithleſſneſs, ſo inſatiable his Avarice, and the Examples of Cruelty of him and his eldeſt Son *Alfonſo* ſo horrible and notorious, that no one doubts but the whole Kingdom, moved by an implacable Hatred againſt them, and the never-fading Memory of the Liberality, Sincerity,

A. D. 1493.

A. D. 1493. ty, Humanity, and Juſtice of the Kings of *France*, would, with infinite Alacrity, riſe in Arms at the News of your Coming. The Reſolution then itſelf is ſufficient to make you victorious, and no ſooner ſhall your Troops have paſſed the *Alps*, and the Fleet be got together in the Port of *Genoa*, but *Ferdinando* and his Children, terrified with the Conſciouſneſs of their own Wickedneſs, will think more of the Means to eſcape, than how to defend themſelves. Thus with all deſirable Eaſe and Succeſs you will recover to your Family a Kingdom, tho' not to be compared, in Greatneſs, to *France*, yet a Kingdom extenſive and rich, and much the more to be valved for the infinite Profits and Advantages that from thence will redound to your Country. Thoſe I could enumerate, were it not known that the *French* Generoſity propoſes to itſelf higher Ends, and that the more worthy and exalted Conceptions of ſo glorious and magnanimous a King are directed, not to his own Intereſt, but to the Good of the whole Chriſtian World. And what fairer Occaſion, what Opportunity more inviting can there be for this Purpoſe, what

what Situation can be more commodious, or better choſen for making War upon the Enemies of our Religion? Every one knows that in ſome Places the Sea is but ſeventy Miles wide between the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Greece*; the latter a Country oppreſſed and torn to Pieces by the *Turks*, and longing for nothing more than to ſee the Chriſtian Banners diſplayed. How eaſy will it then be to penetrate into the very Bowels of the *Turkiſh* Empire, and to take even *Conſtantinople*, the Seat and Head of that Monarchy! And to whom can it more properly belong, than to yourſelf, moſt potent King, to apply your Mind and Thoughts on ſo holy an Enterprize? Of whom is it more requeſted than of you, to whom God has given wonderful Strength and Power, who have the Title of *moſt Chriſtian*, and have before you the Examples of your glorious Predeceſſors, who have often marched Armies out of this Kingdom, ſometimes to deliver the Church of God, oppreſſed by Tyrants, ſometimes to invade the Infidels, and to recover the moſt holy Sepulchre of *Chriſt*, by which they have exalted the Name and Majeſty of the A D. 1493.

A. D. 1493. Kings of *France*, to the higheſt Degree of Renown. By ſuch Counſels and Means, with ſuch Actions and Ends, did that moſt heroic *Charles* obtain the Title of *Great*, and became Emperor of *Rome*; and as you beat his Name, ſo now an Opportunity offers of bearing his Sirname and Glory. But why do I loſe Time with theſe Arguments? as if it were not more convenient, and more according to the Order of Nature, to regard Preſervation before Acquiſition? How muſt it ſtain your Character, with all theſe Advantages, to ſuffer any longer *Ferdinando* to enjoy ſuch a Kingdom, poſſeſſed by Kings of your Blood in a conſtant Succeſſion of near Two Hundred Years, and rightfully and manifeſtly belonging to yourſelf! Who knows not how much it concerns your Dignity to recover it, and how holy an Undertaking it would be to free thoſe People, who are your natural Subjects, and adore your Name, from the exceſſive Tyranny of the *Catalans*? This Undertaking then is moſt juſt, eaſy, neceſſary, and no leſs glorious and ſacred; eſpecially, as it paves a Way to a Project worthy of a moſt Chriſtian King

King of *France*. Nothing is more evident than that your Honour and Dignity are highly concerned in the Recovery of your Right; and that it will be an Act of Piety to deliver those People who are your natural Subjects, and adore your glorious Name. Be assured then, O most magnanimous King! that not only Men, but God himself has openly called you to this Expedition, by presenting you with the surest Prospect of compleat Success, from such great and manifest Opportunities at the Beginning. And what greater Happiness can any Prince enjoy than to find those Resolutions which tend to his own Glory and Greatness, accompanied with such Circumstances and Consequences, as make it evident that they are not only conducive to the public Benefit and Safety, but much more to the Promotion and Exaltation of the whole Christian Commonwealth? A. D. 1493.

THIS Proposition of *Lodovico* met with no ready and chearful Reception from the great Men of *France*, especially from those of the greatest Authority for their Nobility and their Opinion of their Prudence. The War

Objections to an *Italian* Expedition.

A. D. 1493. War now propoſed would, according to their Sentiments, be attended with many Difficulties and Dangers not to be avoided in conducting Armies into foreign Countries at a great Diſtance from *France*, and againſt Enemies eſteemed very powerful. For *Ferdinando* was every where celebrated for his conſummate Prudence; and his Son *Alfonſo* was in no leſs Reputation for his Valour, and Skill in the military Art: And as the former had oppreſſed, in the Courſe of Thirty Years Reign, a great Number of Barons, it was thought he had accumulated immenſe Treaſures. They conſidered that the King was not capable himſelf of conducting ſo important an Enterpriſe, and that thoſe in whom he confided were but weak in Counſel, and unexperienced in the Management of Affairs both civil and military. To this they added the Want of Money, large Sums whereof would be neceſſary to carry ſo great a Project into Execution; and the diſingenuous Artifices of the *Italians* to allure the King: For nobody could believe that any of them, eſpecially *Lodovico*, noted above all the reſt for breaking his Faith, would

would endure to ſee the Kingdom of *Naples* in the Power of *France*. Therefore they judged it difficult to make that Conqueſt, and much more ſo to preſerve it. They conſidered how the King's Father, a Prince, who always regulated his Conduct by the Reality, not by the Appearance of Things, never would hearken to any Propoſals concerning the Affairs of *Italy*, nor regard the Right to the Kingdom of *Naples* devolved on him, but conſtantly aſſerted, that to ſend Armies beyond the *Alps*, was only purchaſing Troubles and Perils at the Coſt of immenſe Treaſures and *French* Blood. That it was firſt neceſſary to adjuſt Differences with the neighbouring Princes; for, beſides ſundry Occaſions for Quarrels and Jealouſies that ſubſiſted with *Ferdinando*, King of *Spain*, many Injuries between *France*, and *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, and *Philip* his Son, Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, required Reparation, and could not be compromiſed without yielding to ſomething very detrimental to the Crown of *France*; and their Emulation was ſuch, that even then their Reconciliation would be more in Shew than A. D. 1493.

A. D. 1493. than in Sincerity; for what Conventions, though never ſo ſtrong, could be able to inſure us that, if our Army meets with any Accident in *Italy*, they will not invade the Kingdom of *Franco?* Nor was it to be expected that *Henry* the Seventh, King of *England*, would be leſs biaſſed by the natural Averſion of the *Engliſh* towards the *French*, than by the Peace concluded a few Months ſince; ſince it was manifeſt that he came into it, rather becauſe the King of the *Romans* had not complied with thoſe Engagements that encouraged him to lay Siege to *Boulogne*, than for any other Reaſon.

James Graville and others againſt the Expedition.

THESE and ſuch like Objections were raiſed amongſt the Great Men, and debated ſometimes among themſelves, and ſometimes before the King, to diſſuade an *Italian* War; but above all *James Graville*, Admiral of *France*, who, though leſs regarded than formerly at Court, had yet by his eſtabliſhed Reputation for Wiſdom preſerved his Authority with the People, with ſingular Vehemence oppoſed this Undertaking. But *Charles*, who was but Twenty-two Years old,

old; and by Nature of little Underſtanding in human Actions, being inflamed with a Thirſt of Conqueſt and Glory, founded rather on Levity and ſudden Impulſe, than Maturity of Counſel, greedily liſtened to the Propoſal, and would not hearken to the wholeſome Advice of his prudent Miniſters. Induced either by his own Inclination, or by his Father's Example and Precepts, he repoſed but little Truſt in the Great Men of the Kingdom, but, as ſoon as he came out of the Tuition of his Siſter *Anne*, the Dutcheſs of *Bourbon*, he would no longer hearken to the Counſels of the Admiral, and of others who had the principal Management in that Adminiſtration, but committed his Affairs to the Direction of ſome Perſons of mean Condition, and almoſt all of them trained up in the Service of his Perſon; Part of whom, as the Counſels of Princes are often venal, were gained by *Lodovico*'s Miniſter, who was aſſiduous in corrupting them, ſome with coſtly Preſents, ſome with Hopes of great Eſtates in the new-conquered Country, and others with Expectations of Eccleſiaſtical Preferments: A. D. 1493.

All

A. D. 1493. All of theſe unanimouſly encouraged their Prince to follow his Inclinations. At the Head of theſe was *Stephen Vers*, a Man of mean Extraction in *Languedoc*, educated with him in the Palace, and created by him Seneſchal of *Beaucaire*: This Man was ſupported by *William Briſſonette*, who was firſt from a Merchant made General of *France*, and afterwards Biſhop of *St. Malo*. He was not only put at the Head of the Adminiſtration of the Royal Revenues, in *France* called the *Finances*, but through *Stephen's* Intereſt was conſulted in Affairs of the greateſt Importance, tho' very little verſed in Matters of State. Theſe were aſſiſted by the Sollicitations of *Antonello* of *San Severino*, Prince of *Salerno*, and *Bernardino*, of the ſame Family, Prince of *Biſignano*, with ſeveral other outlawed Barons of the Kingdom of *Naples*, who had reſided ſeveral Years in *France*, and had been continually ſolliciting *Charles* to this Enterpriſe, by laying before the Miniſtry the extreme Diſſaffection, or rather Deſperation of the *Neapolitans* in general, and the numerous Dependants and Followers which they promiſed themſelves in that Kingdom.

Stephen Vers, and the Biſhop of *St. Malo*, chief Counſellors.

SOME

A. D. 1493.

SOME Days paſſed in Suſpenſe before the final Reſolution was taken. Not only the Miniſtry were dubious, but *Charles* alſo, tho' ſtimulated by a Deſire of Glory and Empire, yet, reſtrained by Fear, was ſometimes irreſolute, ſometimes inclined to take a Reſolution contrary to what he had before determined. After ſome Struggle, however, his Inclination, and the unhappy Fate of *Italy* prevailed: When deaf to all pacific Counſels, and unknown to any one, except *Beaucaire*, and the Biſhop of *St. Malo*, he ſigned a Convention with *Lodovico*'s Ambaſſador; but the Conditions were kept very ſecret for ſeveral Months. The chief Articles were theſe: That whenever the King ſhould think proper, either to conduct in Perſon, or ſend an Army into *Italy*, for the Conqueſt of *Naples*, *Lodovico* ſhould give him a Paſſage through his Dominions, and ſupply him with Five Hundred Men at Arms, at his own Expence: That he ſhould give him Liberty to equip what Veſſels he pleaſed in the Port of *Genoa*, and alſo lend him Two Hundred Thouſand Ducats before he left *France*.

A Treaty between *Lodovico* & *Charles* the VIII.

A. D. 1493. *France*. On the other hand, the King engaged to defend the Dutchy of *Milan*, and particularly to preſerve *Lodovico* in his Authority, and to keep for that Purpoſe Two Hundred Lances in *Aſti*, a City belonging to the Duke of *Orleans*, as long as the War ſhould laſt: At the ſame time, or not long after, the King with his own Hand ſigned a Writing, in which he promiſed to confer upon *Lodovico* the Principality of *Taranto*, as ſoon as he ſhould be in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

It is certainly worth while to conſider here the Variety of Times, and of worldly Affairs. *Franceſco Sforza*, Father of *Lodovico*, a Prince of rare Prudence and Valour, tho' an Enemy to the *Aragonians*, for the provoking Injuries he had received from *Alfonſo*, this *Ferdinando*'s Father, and an antient Friend of the *Anjouins*, yet when *Giovanni*, Son of *René*, in the Year Fourteen Hundred and Fifty Seven, attacked the Kingdom of *Naples*, aſſiſted *Ferdinando* with ſo much Expedition, that the Victory was chiefly attributed to his Conduct. The only Reaſon which induced him

him to act in this Manner, was the Danger he thought the *Milaneſe* would be ſubject to, if a *French* Prince, whoſe Dominions were ſo near his own, ſhould get Poſſeſſion of ſo powerful a State in *Italy*. The ſame Motive had prevailed, not long before, on *Filippo Maria Viſconti*, to abandon the *Anjouins* his hitherto Favourites, and ſet at Liberty *Alfonſo* his Enemy; who being taken at *Gaeta* by the *Genoeſe* in a Sea-Fight, had been brought, with all the Nobility of his Kingdom, Priſoners to *Milan*. On the other Hand, *Lewis*, the Father of *Charles*, tho' often invited by many, and with the favourableſt Opportunities, to aſſert his Right to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and earneſtly ſollicited by the *Genoeſe* to come and receive them for his Vaſſals, as his Father *Charles* the Seventh had done before, yet had conſtantly refuſed to meddle with the affairs of *Italy*, as a Scheme which would be atttended with great Expence, many Difficulties, and prove, in the End, pernicious to the Kingdom of *France* *. A. D. 1493.

* *Paolo Emilio* writes, that when *Roberto di San Severino* ſollicited *Lewis* XI. to come into *Italy*, *Lewis* replied,

A. D. 1493. At preſent the Opinions of Men are various, though, perhaps, the ſame Reaſons, without any Variation, ſubſiſt. *Lodovico* invites the *French* to paſs the Mountains, without dreading from a powerful King of *France*, in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Naples*, that Danger which his very warlike Father apprehended from a little Count of *Provence*: And *Charles* is eager in carrying a War into *Italy*, preferring the Raſhneſs of vulgar, unexperienced Miniſters, to the Example of his Father, a King of Sagacity and long Experience.

The Duke of *Ferrara* counſels *Lodovico* to invite the *French*.

Certain it is, that *Lodovico* was, at this Time, encouraged to invite the *French* by his Father-in-Law, *Ercole d' Eſte*, Duke of *Ferrara*, who was ardently deſirous to recover the *Poleſine* of *Rovigo*, a Territory contiguous to, and very important for the Safety of *Ferrara*. The *Poleſine* had been taken from him in a War with the *Venetians* which laſted Ten Years, and he was perſuaded he could no otherwiſe compaſs his Deſign, than by involving all *Italy* in Confuſion and Bloodſhed. Beſides this, it was

ed, he had obſerved that none of his Predeceſſors had ever been able to preſerve the Conquests they had made in that Country.

was a common Opinion that though *Ercole* profeſſed a great Friendſhip for his Son-in-Law, he yet owed him, in private, a violent Grudge: For in that War, though all the reſt of *Italy* had declared in his Favour againſt the *Venetians*, *Sforza*, who then governed the *Milaneſe*, for his own Ends, obliged the other Potentates, who were much ſuperior in Strength, to make a Peace, and in the Articles gave the *Poleſine* to the *Venetians*; and therefore as *Ercole* could not avenge himſelf of ſo great an Injury with Arms, he determined to do it by giving him pernicious Counſels. But when the News of what was in Negociation beyond the Mountains, tho' from uncertain Authority, began to ſpread over *Italy*, the Minds of Men were variouſly agitated. To thoſe who conſidered the Power of *France*, the warlike Inclination of the People, and the Diviſions among the *Italians*, it appeared of the utmoſt Conſequence. Others, reflecting on the King's Youth, his narrow Capacity, the natural Indolence of the *French*, and the Difficulties that attend great Enterprizes, were of Opinion, that this being rather the Effect

A. D. 1493.

Sentiments of the *Italians* concerning the *French* Expedition.

A. D. 1493 of juvenile Raſhneſs, than founded on Maturity of Counſel, though it threatned a Combuſtion, would vaniſh into Smoak.

FERDINANDO himſelf, againſt whom this Enterprize was levelled, did not ſeem to be much alarmed: He gave out, that if the *French* intended to attack him by Sea, they would find his Fleet no ways inferior to theirs, his Ports well fortified, and in his immediate Poſſeſſion: So that none of his Barons were in a Condition to favour the Landing of an Enemy, as the Prince of *Roſſano* and other Grandees had done, at the Invaſion of *Giovanni d' Anjou*. As for the Expedition by Land, it would create many Jealouſies, and was too long and tedious: For an Army muſt march through all *Italy*, before it could arrive at his Dominions; and therefore every one had Cauſe to fear, and perhaps *Lodovico* more than any other, tho' he might pretend to the Contrary, by endeavouring to ſhew that the common Danger only concerned others; becauſe the State of *Milan*, lying ſo near *France*, the King had a fair Opportunity, and perhaps a greater Deſire to make

make himſelf Maſter of it. And as the Duke of *Milan* was ſo nearly related to the King in Blood, how could *Lodovico* promiſe himſelf, that his Majeſty would not deliver him from his Oppreſſion; particularly, as it was known, that *Charles* had, ſome few Years before, declared he would not ſuffer his Couſin *Giovanni Galeazzo* to be ſo unworthily abuſed. Again the *Aragonian* Affairs were not in ſuch a Condition as, by their Weakneſs, to tempt the King to invade their Dominions. The Kingdom of *Naples* was well provided in many Reſpects, had a flouriſhing Body of Troops, abounded in Horſes fit for War, was well ſtored with Ammunition and Artillery, with all Sorts of warlike Proviſions, and with Plenty of Money and Means of procuring what more might be required. Beſides, the King did not want for experienced Officers to put at the Head of his Armies, and had a Son, the Duke of *Calabria*, of known Reputation for his Valour and Conduct for many Years together, in all the late Commotions of *Italy*. He did not alſo doubt of the Aſſiſtance of the King of *Spain*, who was doubly related

A. D. 1493.

A. D. 1493 to him, as being his Couſin, and Brother to his Wife: And he was very certain, that King would never ſuffer the *French* to eſtabliſh themſelves in the Neighbourhood of *Sicily*. With this Sort of Reaſoning *Ferdinando* thought proper to amuſe the Public, magnifying his own, and diminiſhing his Enemy's Forces, and Opportunities of hurting him. But, as he was a Prince of ſingular Prudence, and great Experience, he was inwardly very much affected: He well remembered the Trouble the *French* had given him in the Beginning of his Reign; and ſeriouſly conſidered he had to do with a powerful and warlike Nation, and much ſuperior to his, in Cavalry, Infantry, Fleets, Artillery, and Treaſure: A People, who, for their King's Glory, were ever willing to encounter Danger. On the contrary, his Subjects were jealous of all his Undertakings, and his whole Kingdom, in a manner full of Hatred againſt the *Aragonians*, or greatly inclined to his Rebels; the Majority commonly deſirous of a Change of Government, and readier to follow the Fortune of an Invader, than adhere to their Alle-

Ferdinando alarmed at the League.

Allegiance: * His Troops were not in the good Condition he had boaſted, nor the Money accumulated ſufficient for his Defence; and the Tumults, when the War was once commenced, would diſable him from raiſing any further Supplies: He had Enemies in all Parts of *Italy*, without one ſingle true Friend. For what State had not felt the Weight of his Arms, or been cajoled by his Artifices? Nor from *Spain*, according to the Cuſtom and Condition of that Nation, had he any thing more to expect than ample Promiſes, and Appearances of vaſt Preparations, which would end in ſmall and retarded Succours. His Fears were increaſed by ſeveral Predictions, prognoſticating Calamities to his Family, which came to his Knowledge, at different Times, from old Papers, and from Perſons, who, though ignorant of preſent Affairs, yet would pretend to foretell what was to come. Theſe Things in Proſperity are little regarded, but too much in A. D. 1493.

* *Livy*, Lib. 1. Dec. 4. The *Neapolitans* abſtain from Rebellion only when they are at a Loſs to find a Power that will accept of their Allegiance.

A. D. 1493. Adverſity. † Diſturbed by ſo many Reflections, and the Danger appearing without Compariſon greater than any rational Hope of Safety, he found he had no other Remedy, than by ſome Compoſition to induce the King of *France* to lay aſide all Thoughts of invading him, or by removing ſome of the Cauſes which incited him to make War.

Meaſures taken by *Ferdinando* for his Security.

FEDERICO, the ſecond Son of *Ferdinando*, was married to a Siſter of King *Charles*'s Mother, by whom he had a Daughter called *Carlotta*, who was educated at the *French* Court, where *Ferdinando* had ſent Ambaſſadors to treat about a Match for his Grand-daughter with the young King of *Scotland*. *Ferdinando* took this Opportunity of joining to them *Camillo Pandone*, who had before been his Agent at *Paris*, with Inſtructions to uſe their beſt Endeavours, by bribing, privately, the King's Miniſters, with Gifts and Promiſes, to

† It was pretended, that *St. Cataldo*, above 1000 Years before, had writ a Book of Prophecies concerning the Affairs of *Naples*; and at this Juncture, had appeared to the Sacriſtan of the Church, where he was buried, and informed him where he might find the old Manuſcript.

to turn his Mind from the *Italian* Expe- A. D. 1493.
dition; and if that Method was not ſuffi-
cient, they were commiſſioned to offer his
Majeſty an annual Tribute, and any other
Submiſſion that might procure Peace.

He next made a diligent Uſe of all his Authority to compromiſe the Affair of the Caſtles with the Pope, laying all the Blame on *Virginio*'s Obſtinacy, and revived the Treaty of the Marriage which had been before negotiated. But his chief Deſign was to pacify and aſſure himſelf of *Lodovico Sforza*, Author and Promoter of all theſe Evils. He well knew his violent Reſolutions had proceeded more from Fear than any Thing elſe; and, therefore, preferring his own Security to that of his Grand-Child, he took ſeveral Methods to aſſure him that he would leave the Deciſion of *Giov. Galeazzo*'s Affairs, and his Pretenſions to the Dukedom of *Milan* to himſelf, without any Regard to the Perſuaſions of his Son *Alfonſo*, who, encouraged by *Lodovico*'s natural Puſillanimity, preſſed his Father to force him from his new Alliance by Terror and Threats; with-

A. D. 1493. without conceiving, that the Timorous are as often driven into precipitate Counſels by Deſpair, as the Raſh, for want of reflecting on the Dangers they undertake.

A Treaty between the Pope and *Ferdinando.* After many Difficulties raiſed, more by *Virginio* than the Pope, the Diſpute about the Caſtles was terminated, Don *Federigo*, who was ſent for this Purpoſe to *Rome*, being preſent at the Conferences. It was agreed that *Virginio* ſhould pay over again to *Alexander* the Sum he had before paid to *Franceſchetto Cibo* for the Purchaſe of the Caſtles; and a Match was concluded between Madama *Sances*, *Federigo*'s natural Daughter, and Don *Giuffre*, the Pope's youngeſt Son, though neither, as yet, of a proper Age for Wedlock.

The Condition were, that Don *Giuffre*, in a few Months, ſhould go to *Naples*, and receive in Dowry the Principality of *Squillaci*, with a yearly Income of Ten Thouſand Ducats, and have the Command of an Hundred Men at Arms in *Ferdinando*'s Army. This confirmed the Public in the Belief that *Alexander*'s particular Reaſon for ſending to treat in *France*, was to frighten the King

King of *Naples* into his Meaſures. *Ferdinando* endeavoured to perſuade the Pope to enter into an Alliance with him for the common Defence: But *Alexander* raiſed ſo many Difficulties, that all he was able to obtain, and that with the greateſt Secrecy, was a Brief for a defenſive Treaty between them two only, for the Protection of each other's Dominions, in Caſe they ſhould be attacked. As ſoon as theſe Articles were ſigned, the *Venetian* and *Milaneſe* Troops, who came to the Pope's Aid, were diſmiſſed. A. D. 1493.

FERDINANDO flattered himſelf he ſhould have equal Succeſs in treating with *Lodovico Sforza*, who very artfully ſoothed the Allies; ſometimes making them believe, he never intended to favour the Inclinations of the *French*, which might prove ſo dangerous to all *Italy*: At other Times, he alledged the Neceſſity he was under, of giving a Hearing to the King's Propoſals, on account of the Fief of *Genoa*, and the antient Confederacies between his Family and that of *France*: Then ſending ſeparately to *Ferdinando*, the Pope, and *Piero di*

A. D. 1493. *di Medici*, he gave each to underſtand, that he would uſe all his Intereſt to mitigate the King's fiery Temper. In this Manner he thought proper to amuſe them, leſt they ſhould fall upon him before the *French* were in Readineſs; and he was the more readily believed, as every one thought it impoſſible he ſhould not at leaſt have conſidered his own Riſque in inviting ſo potent a King into *Italy*, and recede from all his Engagements. The whole Summer was ſpent in theſe Negociation, which were carried on ſo dexterouſly by *Lodovico*, that *Charles* took no Sort of Umbrage; whilſt *Ferdinando*, and the *Florentines*, neither deſpaired of, nor totally confided in, the Performance of his Promiſes.

All this while they were laying in *France*, with great Sollicitude, a ſolid Foundation for the Execution of this new Enterprize, on which the King, contrary to the Conſent of almoſt his whole Nobility, was every Day more determined: And that he might meet with no Obſtacles, he compoſed all Differences with *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella*, joint King and Queen of *Spain*;

A Treaty between *Charles* the VIII. and *Ferdinando* King of *Spain*.

Princes,

Princes, in thoſe Days, of great Reputation, for their Prudence, and for having ſettled a firm Peace in their Realms, which had before been very turbulent; as alſo, for having lately, after a Ten Years War, diſpoſſeſſed the *Moors* of *Africa*, of the Kingdom of *Granada*, which they had poſſeſſed for near Eight Centuries, and brought it under the Banner of *Chriſt*. A. D. 1493.

It was ſtipulated in this Convention, conſolidated with public Oaths in the ſacred Temples, that neither *Ferdinando* nor *Iſabella*, in both whoſe Names *Spain* was then governed, directly nor indirectly, ſhould give any Aid to the Houſe of *Aragon*, make any new Affinity with them, or any way whatſoever oppoſe this Expedition of *Charles*, who, to obtain theſe Obligations, began with a certain Loſs for the Hopes of uncertain Gain, for he reſtored, without any Money *Perpignan*, and all the County of *Rouſſillon*, which had been mortgaged long ſince to *Lewis* his Father, by *Giovanni*, King of *Aragon*, the Father of *Ferdinando*. This Conceſſion very muſt diſguſted the *French* Nation: For that

A. D. 1493. that Province being ſituated at the Foot of the *Pyrenean* Mountains was, according to the antient Diviſion, Part of *Gaul*, and hindered the *Spaniards* from invading *France* on that Side.

A Treaty between *Charles* the VIII. and *Maximilian*.

For the ſame Reaſons, *Charles* made Peace with *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans* *, and his Son *Philip*, Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, who had ſeveral old and new Occaſions given for their Enmity. Theſe began when *Lewis*, *Charles*'s Father, took Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the Province of *Artois*, and many other circumjacent Countries, after the Death of *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and Earl of *Flanders*. For this Seizure was the Occaſion of grievous Wars between *Lewis* and *Maria*, only Daughter of *Charles*, who, ſoon after her Father's Death, married *Maximilian*, and *Philip* her Son by him, who, *Maria* being dead, was lately come into Poſſeſſion of his Mother's Patrimony. But now, more at the Deſire of the *Flemings*, than by his own Inclinations,

* The Hiſtorian calls *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, though he was then Emperor; which Title was never given to the Emperors by the *Italians* in thoſe Days, till they were crowned by the Pope in *Rome*.

clinations, *Maximilian* made Peace with the *French*: To corroborate which, *Margaret*, *Philip*'s Siſter, though under Age, was eſpouſed to *Charles*; but, after ſhe had been kept ſeveral Years at the *French* Court, was repudiated, to make Way for *Anne*, the only Daughter of *Francis* Duke of *Bretany*, and Heireſs to that Dutchy. *Maximilian*, at the ſame Time, was doubly injured, in his Daughter's Match, and in his own; for he had already eſpouſed *Anne* by Proxy: But now finding himſelf unable to carry on the War he had entered into on this Account; that the Regency of *Flanders*, by whoſe Counſels and Authority that Country was governed, was determined not to break with *France*, in their Prince's Minority; and obſerving that *Spain* and *England* had laid down their Arms, which they had taken up againſt *France*, he alſo agreed to a Peace; in Conſequence of which, *Charles* reſtored all the *Artois*, except the Forts, which he alſo engaged to deliver up at the End of Four Years, when *Philip* would be of Age to confirm this Agreement. The Reaſon given for parting with *Artois*, A. D. 1493.

A. D. 1493. *Artois*, was, that at the Peace made with *Lewis*, it had been on all Sides agreed that *Artois* ſhould be conſidered as *Margaret*'s Dowry, who had hitherto been kept in *France*, but was now ſent back to *Philip* her Brother. *Charles* having thus ſecured Peace with all his Neighbours, fixed his Reſolution of proſecuting his Expedition againſt *Naples* in the following Year; and gave Orders in the mean time for providing all Neceſſaries, to which he was conſtantly ſollicited by *Lodovico*.

Lodovico gives his Niece in Marriage to *Maximilian*.

As the Ambition of Mankind riſes from one Step to another, ſo *Lodovico*, not ſatisfied with ſecuring himſelf in the Government of *Milan*, now aſpired at nothing leſs than to be created Duke, which he thought might be eaſily compaſſed, if the *Aragonians* were depreſſed. To give ſome Colour of Juſtice to this premeditated Piece of Iniquity, and more firmly to eſtabliſh himſelf, he married his Niece, *Bianca Maria*, Siſter of *Giovanni Galeazzo*, the preſent Duke, to *Maximilian*, who, after the late Death of his Father *Fredric*, had ſucceeded him in the Empire,

Lodovico

Lodovico agreeing to give her in Portion Four Hundred Thouſand Ducats, at different Payments, and the Value of Forty Thouſand more in Jewels, and other Things. *Maximilian*, on the other Side, pleaſed more with the Money than the Alliance, to the Prejudice of his new Brother-in-law, *Giov. Galeazzo*, engaged to inveſt *Lodovico* and his Deſcendants in the Dukedom of *Milan*; as if that State had been without a legitimate Duke ever ſince the Demiſe of *Filippo Maria Viſconti*. The new Deed of Inveſtiture was to be drawn in a moſt ample Form, and ſigned, on the laſt Payment of the Dowry. A. D. 1493.

THE *Viſconti* are a noble Family in the State of *Milan*, which during the bloody Feuds between the two Factions of the *Guelfs* and *Ghibellins* expelled the *Guelfs* out of *Milan*; and, as it commonly happens at the End of Civil Wars, from being only Chiefs of a Party in one Quarter of the Town, made themſelves Maſters of the whole City. Some Years after, according to the Cuſtom of Uſurpers, they were deſirous of poſſeſſing, in a legal The *Viſconti* Family.

A. D. 1492 The Sforza Family.

Manner, what they had obtained by Force; and with ample Titles making more illuſtrious their Family: Wherefore they found Means of acquiring from the Emperors, who now began to make their Name more than Power known in *Italy*, firſt the Title of Captains, then Vicars of the Empire; and at laſt *Giovanni Galeazzo Viſconti*, who ſtiled himſelf Count *Virtú* (an Earldom conferred on him by his Father-in-law, *John* King of *France*) obtained from *Winceſlaus*, King of the *Romans*, the Dignity of Duke of *Milan*, for himſelf, and his Heirs Male. His two Sons, *Giovanmaria* and *Filippomaria*, one after the other ſucceeded him: They both died without Iſſue; and *Filippomaria*, by his laſt Will, left the Dutchy to *Alfonſo*, King of *Aragon* and *Naples*, in Conſideration of the Friendſhip contracted with him, at the Time he freed him from his Confinement: And alſo, becauſe he imagined that the Dutchy, being defended by ſo powerful a Prince, ran no Riſque of falling under the Dominion of the *Venetians*, who plainly manifeſted their Deſign on that State. But *Franceſco Sforza*, a Man of great

great Power, and very much eſteemed for his Knowledge and Experience in Civil and Military Affairs, by Force of Arms got Poſſeſſion of the State, which he claimed in Right of his Wife, *Bianca Maria*, a natural Daughter of the laſt Duke *Filippo Maria*. In getting Poſſeſſion of this Dutchy many Accidents concurred in his Favour; and eſpecially that of having it in his Power to break his Word with thoſe who had joined him, on his Promiſe of not attempting the Sovereignty. *Franceſco*, for a ſmall Sum of Money (as was reported) might have procured the Inveſtiture from the Emperor *Frederic*; but being confident he was able to ſupport his Power by the ſame Means he had acquired it, he deſpiſed that Sort of Right: Thus the Dukedom deſcended to his Son *Galeazzo* without Inveſtiture, to whom ſucceeded this *Giovanni Galeazzo* his Grandſon. *Lodovico* now acting an unnatural Part againſt his living Nephew, and an injurious one to the Memory of his deceaſed Father and Brother, aſſerted they had governed without a Title, and therefore the Dukedom was revolved to the Empire, and procuring

A. D. 1493.

Lodovico procures for himſelf the Inveſtiture of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

A. D. 1493. procuring for himſelf the Inveſtiture from *Maximilian*, ſtiled himſelf not Seventh, but Fourth Duke. However, this Tranſaction was known but to few till the Death of his Nephew. He was wont to ſay, in Imitation of *Cyrus*, the younger Brother of *Artaxerxes*, King of *Perſia*, that he preceded *Galeazzo* his Brother, not in Age, but as being born after his Father was Duke; and found Means to obtain the Opinion of many Civilians in his Favour. This Reaſon, amongſt others, was given in the Imperial Diploma; and, under a ridiculous Notion of palliating *Lodovico*'s Ambition, by way of Clauſe it was added, That it was not the Cuſtom of the Holy *Roman* Empire to grant Inveſtitures to any that were in Poſſeſſion of their Dominions by any other than the Imperial Authority; and that *Maximilian* had therefore rejected the Petition *Lodovico* had made for the Inveſtiture in Behalf of his Nephew, becauſe, without any previous Application to him, he had been acknowledged Duke by the People of *Milan*.

A. D. 1493.

THE King of *Naples* was in Hopes, that this new Match would produce a Diſſenſion between *Charles* and *Lodovico*, imagining it could not be agreeable to the former, that the King of the *Romans*, his Enemy on ſo many Accounts, ſhould be ſupplied by the latter with ſo large a Sum of Money, and their Intereſt by this Affinity united. He alſo expected, that *Sforza*, on this Alliance, would take Courage, and boldly recede from the Engagement he had entered into with *Charles*. *Lodovico* was ſagacious enough to encourage that King, and the reſt of the *Italians*, in theſe Notions, and at the ſame time maintain his Intereſt both with the Kings of the *Romans* of and *France*: *Ferdinando* alſo applied to the *Venetians*, who, he had Reaſon to think, were not fond of having their Power eclipſed by the Arrival in *Italy* of ſo potent a King: And the *Spaniſh* Sovereigns promiſed him large Succours, in caſe their Remonſtrances and Authority did not meet with Succeſs in preventing the intended Invaſion.

THE

A. D. 1493.

THE King of *France*, on the other hand, that he might remove all Difficulties and Obſtacles on this Side the Mountains, as he had on the other, ſent *Peron de la Baſche*, a Perſon well verſed in the Concerns of *Italy* (where he had formerly been with *Giovanni d'Anjou*) to notify to the Pope, *Venetians* and *Florentines*, his Reſolution of paſſing the *Alps*, in order to recover the Kingdom of *Naples*, inviting them to join him. But he received only general Anſwers; every one refuſing, as yet, to declare his Sentiments, as the War was not to be commenced till the Year following. *Charles* required of the *Florentine* Ambaſſadors, who, by *Ferdinando*'s Approbation, had been ſent to his Court, to clear their Republic from the Imputation of being partial to the *Aragonians*, that he ſhould be promiſed a ſafe Paſſage and Proviſions for his Army through their Dominions, on their paying for all Neceſſaries; and that, as a public Token of their Friendſhip, they ſhould accompany his Troops with an Hundred of their Men at Arms. They remonſtrated how dangerous ſuch

Perone di Baccie ſent to the *Italian* Potentates

Charles demands of the *Florentines* a Paſſage for his Troops.

ſuch an Agreement might prove, before they could be ſupported by his Army; affirming, he might always be ſure of their City, from the natural Propenſion of the *Florentines* to his Nation: But the *French* ſo ardently inſiſted on their Compliance, that they were conſtrained to promiſe, being threatened otherwiſe with a Suppreſſion of their Commerce, which at that Time was very conſiderable in *France*. It was ſoon diſcovered that *Lodovico* was at the Bottom of theſe Counſels; and was alſo the ſole Guide and Director of all that concerned the *French* Intereſt in *Italy*. A. D. 1493.

PIERO DE MEDICI endeavoured to get *Ferdinando*'s Conſent that his Republic might comply with theſe Demands; which, he ſaid, in the Main, were inſignificant; and that he might find it more to his Intereſt, that the Republic ſhould be on good Terms with *Charles*, which might, perhaps, enable them to be his Mediators to bring about ſome Compoſition, whereas they could be of no Service to him in being declared Enemies to *France*. Next, he endeavoured to make him ſenſible, how

A. D. 1493. odious he ſhould be rendered to his Country, if the *Florentine* Merchants ſhould be baniſhed *France*. He added, that for the common Good, which was the chief Ground of all Alliances, it was often neceſſary for each Confederate patiently to bear with ſome Inconveniencies, to prevent much greater. But *Ferdinando* being ſenſible, how much his Reputation would be diminiſhed, and his Safety endangered, in caſe the *Florentines* were to ſeparate themſelves from his Intereſt, would, by no means admit of theſe Reaſons; and bitterly complained, that *Piero*'s Steadineſs and Faith, on which he had repoſed his chief Dependance, ſhould ſo ſoon, contrary to all his Expectations, be ſhaken. Wherefore *Piero* being determined, above all Things, to preſerve the Friendſhip of the *Aragonians*, contrived ſeveral Excuſes to protract the Anſwer, ſo inſtantly required by the *French* King; and at laſt let him know, he would ſend new Ambaſſadors with the final Determination of the Republic.

AT the latter end of the Year, the good Intelligence between the Pope and *Ferdinando* began to decline; either becauſe *Alexander*, by raiſing Difficulties, expected to reap greater Advantages; or, in order to bring under his Obedience the Cardinal of *San Piero* in *Vincola*. This Cardinal was retired into the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Pope inſiſted on his Return, offering, for a Pledge of his Security, the Faith of the ſacred College, of *Ferdinando*, and of the *Venetians*. His Abſence created *Alexander* a great deal of Uneaſineſs, on Account of the important Caſtles of *Oſtia*, *Ronciglione*, and *Grotta Ferrata*, which he held in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, anſi beſides, he was a Man of great Authority, and had many Adherents in the *Roman* Court; was by Nature deſirous of Novelties, obſtinate, and difficult, tho' at the Riſque of any Danger, to be diſſuaded from any Reſolution once taken. *Ferdinando* took great Pains to excuſe himſelf, by aſſuring the Pope, that he could not induce the Cardinal to comply; not being able to perſuade him, that any Security was equal to the Danger he apprehended.

A. D. 1493.

The Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola* retires to *Oſtia*.

A. D. 1494. prehended. He then complained of his hard Fate, in being obliged to ſuſtain the Blame of other People's Faults: Thus he had been accuſed of advancing Money to *Virginio* for the Purchaſe of the Caſtles, tho' they were bought without his Participation, and it had been through his Intereſt that *Virginio* had come to a Compoſition, and he himſelf had advanced the Money which was paid to his Holineſs on that Account. But theſe Excuſes were ſo far from being admitted by the Pontiff, that he bitterly complained, and almoſt threatened him with his Reſentment: This induced People to believe, that little Streſs was to be laid on their late Reconciliation.

In this Diſpoſition of Minds, and Confuſion of Affairs, tending to new Commotions, began the Year 1494, (according to the *Roman* Style:) * A Year moſt unfortunate for *Italy!* and, indeed, the firſt of many miſerable Years: For it opened a Door to innumerable and horrible Calamities;

* In *Florence*, the Author's Country, the Year began on *Lady-Day*.

ties; which, by divers Accidents, have *A. D.* 1493. ſpread, and been ſenſibly felt, in many Parts of the World.

In the Beginning of this Year, *Charles*, more than ever averſe to any Compoſition with *Ferdinando*, ordered the *Neapolitan* Ambaſſadors, as the Miniſters of an Enemy, immediately to quit the Kingdom of *France*. Much about the ſame Time, *Ferdinando*, oppreſſed more with Anxiety of Mind than Age, was ſeized with a Catarrh, which ſuddenly carried him off. He was a Prince celebrated for his Induſtry and Prudence; which being accompanied with good Fortune, he preſerved himſelf in a Kingdom, not long ſince acquired by his Father, in ſpite of many Difficulties which he met with in the Beginning of his Reign, and advanced it to a higher Pitch of Greatneſs, than it was known for many Years before, under any of the Kings his Predeceſſors. A good King, if he had continued to govern by the ſame Maxims with which he began: But, in Proceſs of Time, when he found himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed, either changing his Manners,

Charles orders the *Neapolitan* Ambaſſadors to quit *France*.

Ferdinando's Death.

A. D. 1494. Manners, as is uſual with almoſt all Princes who know not how to reſiſt the Impulſes of unlimited Authority, rather, according to the univerſal Opinion, diſcovering his natural Temper, till then very artfully concealed, he became noted for Breaches of Faith, and ſuch exceſſive Cruelty, as his own Creatures thought deſerving the Name of Barbarity. *

A Loſs to the Cauſe of *Italy*. It was allowed that the Death of *Ferdinando* was a Loſs to the common Cauſe of *Italy*. For, beſides that he would have attempted any Expedient to prevent the Paſſage of the *French*, it was not doubted but that it would be more difficult to induce *Lodovico Sforza* to place any Confidence in the haughty Temper of *Alfonſo*, than to have diſpoſed him to renew his Friendſhip with *Ferdinando*, who had been often known, in former Times, readily to condeſcend to his Will, in order to avoid all Occaſions of Contention with the State of *Milan*. And among the reſt we are aſſured

* *Ferdinando*, the 25th of *Jan.* 1494, was 70 Years old, and had reigned 35 Years, 6 Months, and 25 Days. *Giovio.*

ſured that when *Iſabella* the Daughter of *Alfonſo* was conducted to her Huſband, *Lodovico* fell in Love with her, and was deſirous to obtain her of her Father for himſelf, and, for that Purpoſe, operated ſo effectually, as it was then believed throughout all *Italy*, by Means of Inchantment and Sorcery, as to render *Galeazzo*, for many Months, incapable of conſummating Matrimony. *Ferdinando* would have conſented to his Deſire, but *Alfonſo* oppoſed it; whence *Lodovico*, excluded from that Hope, married another, by whom he had Sons, and turned his Thoughts on transferring the Dutchy of *Milan* on himſelf and his Heirs. Some have alſo wrote, that *Ferdinando*, who was willing to undergo any Fatigue, and ſuffer any Indignity to avert the impending War, was determined, as ſoon as the Seaſon permitted, to go on board his Gallies to *Genoa*, and from thence by Land to *Milan*, and there comply with every Thing *Lodovico* ſhould require, and bring back his Grand-Daughter to *Naples*, in hopes of mitigating him, not only by his Offers, but alſo by his publickly acknowledging him for the ſole Author of

A. D. 1494.

his

A. D. 1492. his Safety, it being well known how ardently *Lodovico* desired to be thought the Arbiter and Oracle of *Italy*.

Alfonso sends Ambassadors to the Pope.

ALFONSO, at his first Coming to the Crown, sent four Ambassadors to the Pope, who had given Intimations of returning to his former Inclination of embracing the Friendship of the *French*; for at that King's Request, by a Bull signed by the whole College of Cardinals, he had engaged to create the Bishop of *St. Malo* a Cardinal *; and, in Concert with *Lodovico*, taken *Prospero Colonna*, and other Commanders of Men at Arms, into his Pay. Yet the Offers made by the new King, who, at any Rate, thought it necessary to gain him, and his Protection, were such, that *Alexander* could not withstand them.

An Alliance between the Pope and *Alfonso*.

AN Alliance was then publickly concluded between *Alfonso* and the Pope, for the Defence of their respective Dominions; engaging to assist each other with a certain

* *Corio* is of Opinion, that the Pope created the Bishop of *St. Malo* a Cardinal, in hopes of preventing, thro' his Interest, the King's Expedition into *Italy*.

tain Number of Men. *Alexander* promiſed to give *Alfonſo* the Inveſtiture of his Kingdom, with the ſame Diminution of the Tribute, which, by other Popes, had been granted only for *Ferdinando*'s Life; to ſend an Apoſtolic Legate to crown him; and create *Lodovico*, the Son of Don *Henrico*, natural Brother of *Alfonſo*, a Cardinal; who was afterwards called the Cardinal of *Aragon*. The King, on his Part, was to pay the Pope immediately Thirty Thouſand Ducats, and provide, in the following Manner, for his three Sons: To give Poſſeſſions in his Kingdom, to the Value of Twelve Thouſand Ducats a Year, to the Duke of *Candia*, the firſt of the ſeven principal Offices that became vacant, and, during his Holineſs's Life, a Regiment of Three Hundred Men at Arms, to be employed in the Service of either Party, as Occaſion ſhould require: Don *Giuffre*, as a Pledge of the Pope's Sincerity, ſhould reſide at the King's Court; and, beſides the Appointments agreed on at the former Convention, ſhould be made Protonotary, which is one of the ſeven great Employments: And as for *Cæſar Borgia*, whom he had

A. D. 1494.

Alfonſo engages to provide for the Pope's Children.

A. D. 1493. had lately created a Cardinal, he was to be endowed with rich Benefices in his Kingdom. *Alexander*, in order to qualify *Cæsar* for the Purple, had, by false Witnesses, proved him to be a legitimate Child of another Gentleman; it not being customary to promote Bastards to that Dignity.

VIRGINIO ORSINI, who was present at this Convention, and had the King's Credentials engaged, that *Alfonso* should assist his Holiness in recovering the Castle of *Ostia*, in case the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola* should refuse to return to *Rome*. But the King affirmed that this Promise had been made without his Consent or Knowledge, thinking it might prove highly detrimental in so dangerous a Juncture to have that Cardinal his Enemy; for he had great Influence in *Genoa* on which, at the Instigation of that Prelate, he designed to make an Attempt. Besides, he was, perhaps, afraid of carrying Matters too far, lest the Cardinal should in such turbulent Times enter into Plots about Councils, or other Affairs prejudicial to the Holy See: So he tried all Means to reconcile

reconcile him to the Pope; who would hearken to nothing, unleſs he returned to *Rome*. The Cardinal, on the other ſide, was as obſtinately determined not to truſt his Life, as he uſed to expreſs himſelf, in the Hands of *Catalans*; and therefore rendered all the Pains and Deſires of *Alfonſo* ineffectual: For, after feigning to come into all that was propoſed, he departed ſuddenly one Night on board an armed Brigantine from *Oſtia*, which Place he left well garriſoned, and after ſtaying a few Days at *Savona*, and then at *Avignon*, where he was Legate, he proceeded to *Lyons*, whither *Charles* had transferred his Reſidence, in order to make with more Conveniency and the greater Vigour the neceſſary Preparations for the intended Expedition, which he gave out he would conduct in Perſon, by whom he was received with great Demonſtrations of Joy and Honour, and here he joined all thoſe who were concerting Meaſures for diſturbing the Repoſe of *Italy*.

A. D. 1494.

The Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola* retires into *France*.

ALFONSO, Fear becoming a good Maſter to him, continued to make *Lodo-*

A. D. 1494. *vico* the ſame Offers his Father had done. *Sforza*, according to his Cuſtom, craftily amuſed him with vain Hopes; and endeavoured to perſuade him, that he was under a Neceſſity of acting with the utmoſt Dexterity and Caution in regard to *France*, leſt the War, deſigned againſt others, might begin in his own Dominions. But, on the other hand, he never ceaſed to ſollicit the Preparations in *France*; and, to do it the more effectually, he ſent, at the ſame time, to the *French* Court (but, as he pretended, at *Charles*'s Requeſt) *Galeazzo da San Severino*, a Perſon he confided in, and a great Favourite of his, having married his Daughter, to ſettle better all the Particulars, and ſee that what was reſolved on might be put in Execution without Delay. By *Lodovico*'s Advice, the King diſpatched four Ambaſſadors to the Pope; *Everard Aubigni*, a *Scotch* Officer; the General of *France*; the Preſident of the Parliament of *Provence*; and *Peron de la Baſche*, the ſame Perſon who had been ſent thither the Year before. Theſe Miniſters purſuant to their Inſtructions, the principal of which

Four Ambaſſadors ſent by *Charles* into *Italy*.

which were drawn up in *Milan*, publiſhed in all Places wherever they paſſed the Right which the King of *France*, as Succeſſor of the Houſe of *Anjou*, on the Failure of the Line of *Charles* the Firſt, claimed to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and his Reſolution to paſs the ſame Year in Perſon into *Italy*, not with an Intent to ſeize on what appertained to others, but purely to obtain what juſtly belonged to himſelf, though the ultimate End which he had in View was not ſo much the Acquiſition of the Kingdom of *Naples*, as the Opportunity that Conqueſt would afford him of turning his Arms againſt the *Turks* for the Increaſe and Advancement of the Chriſtian Name *. At *Florence* they repreſented the great Confidence which the King repoſed in that City, which had been rebuilt by *Charles* the Great, and was always favoured by the Kings of *France*; A. D. 1494.

* To this Day the *Italians* in general exult whenever a Chriſtian Potentate declares War againſt the *Turks*: And it is cuſtomary for the Emperor and the *Venetians* to ſend Ambaſſadors, on ſuch Occaſions, to collect Money from all the *Italian* Powers. I myſelf, on the Taking of *Belgrade* by *Charles* VI. have ſeen as great Rejoicings at *Florence*, as if it had been an Acquiſition made by the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*.

A. D. 1494. and lately by the preſent King's Father, *Lewis* XI. in the unjuſt Wars raiſed againſt the *Florentines* by Pope *Sixtus*, *Ferdinando*, lately deceaſed, and his reigning Son *Alfonſo*: They put the People in Mind of the vaſt Profits which the *Florentine* Nation made by their mercantile Commerce in the Kingdom of *France*, where they were favoured and careſſed as if they had been Natives, by which Example they might expect to reap the ſame Profits, and meet with the like kind Treatment in the Kingdom of *Naples* when the King ſhould be in Poſſeſſion of it: A Treatment they had never met with from the *Aragonians*, from whom they had ever ſuffered Injuries and Loſſes. They then preſſed them to give ſome Demonſtration of their Conjunction with his Majeſty in his Enterpriſe; but if, for any juſt Reaſon, they did not think proper to declare themſelves, that they would at leaſt agree to give a free Paſſage through their Territories to the *French* Army, and furniſh them with Victuals on their paying for them.

Their Proceedings at *Florence*.

IN this Manner did they treat with the Republic, but made uſe of other Arguments with *Piero de' Medici*. They reminded him of the many Favours and Honours conferred by *Lewis* XI. on his Father and on his Anceſtors: How, in troubleſome Times, he had often countenanced them in order to preſerve their Grandeur, and in Token of Benevolence, he had permitted them to quarter the Arms of the Houſe of *France*. That, on the contrary, *Ferdinando*, not ſatisfied with openly attacking them with his Arms, had been alſo wickedly concerned himſelf in civil Conſpiracies, in which his Uncle *Giuliano* had been aſſaſſinated, and his Father *Lorenzo* dangerouſly wounded. A. D. 1494.

THE Ambaſſadors not obtaining a poſitive Anſwer at *Florence*, proceeded to *Rome*, where laying before his Holineſs the antient Merits, and conſtant Devotion of the Houſe of *France* towards the Apoſtolic See, which were abundantly atteſted by antient and modern Records, and, on the contrary, the Contumacy and frequent Acts of Diſobedience of the *Aragonians*, The Pope requeſted to favour the *French*

A. D. 1494. they demanded the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples* for *Charles*, as his lawful Right, propoſing and making many Offers, if he would favour an Expedition, undertaken as much by his Holineſs's Authority and Perſuaſion, as by any other Motive.

Alexander's Anſwer.

THE Pope's Anſwer was, That as the Inveſtiture had been given, by ſo many of his Predeceſſors, three Times ſucceſſively to the Houſe of *Aragon*, (*Alfonſo* being expreſly named in that of *Ferdinando*'s) it was not reaſonable to grant it to *Charles*, until it was judicially determined that he had the beſt Claim, to which the Inveſtiture granted to *Alfonſo*, could be of no manner of Prejudice, becauſe this Clauſe, *without Prejudice to any one's Right*, was purpoſely inſerted in the Deed: That the Kingdom of *Naples* was a direct Dominion of the Holy See; and he hoped the preſent King would imitate his Anceſtors, who were ever the chief Defenders of the Church's Rights, and not aſſault it with open Violence, as he threatened, but proceed in a legal and judicial Manner, as became

came the Dignity of his Perſon: And as he himſelf was the Supreme Lord of the Fief, and ſole Judge of the Cauſe, he might depend on making out his Claim to have Juſtice done him: That this was all a Moſt Chriſtian King ought to require from a *Roman* Pontiff, whoſe Province it was to appeaſe and extinguiſh Animoſities, not to foment Wars between Chriſtian Princes. He then expatiated on the Difficulties and Dangers that would attend his joining his Majeſty, by reaſon of the Vicinity of his Territories to thoſe of *Alfonſo* and the *Florentines*, as the laſt would be ſeconded by all *Tuſcany*, and the Dependance on the King of *Naples* of ſo many Barons was very great, ſome of whoſe States extended to the very Gates of *Rome*. But he artfully dropped Expreſſions, which might create ſome Hope, tho' he was in himſelf fully determined not to quit his Alliance with *Alfonſo*. *A. D.* 1494.

AT *Florence* the Inclination was ſtrong in Favour of the Houſe of *France*, on account of the Commerce of ſo great a Number of *Florentines* in that Kingdom, and The *Florentines* deſirous of contenting *France*

A. D. 1494. from an inveterate, tho' falſe, Notion that their City had been re'built by *Charlemain*, after it had been deſtroyed by *Totila*, King of the *Goths*; for the ſtrict Conjunction of their *Guelf* Anceſtors, for a long Time together, with *Charles* the Firſt, King of *Naples*, and with many of his Deſcendants Protectors of the *Guelfs* in *Italy*; and for the Memory of the Wars, which firſt old *Alfonſo*, and afterwards *Ferdinando*, in the Year 1478, made with their Republic, when he ſent his Son *Alfonſo* with an Army againſt them. On theſe Conſiderations, the Commonalty of the People were for granting a Paſſage to the King, and many alſo of the moſt knowing among the Citizens, and thoſe of the greateſt Authority, were of the ſame Mind. They thought it very imprudent to involve the State in a dangerous War, for their Neighbours Quarrels, by oppoſing ſo powerful an Army, headed by the King of *France* in Perſon, who entered *Italy* with the Aſſiſtance of the State of *Milan*, and if not with the Conſent, at leaſt without the Contradiction of the *Venetian* Senate. To confirm their Opinion, they had the Authority of *Coſmo* de'

de' Medici, deemed one of the wiſeſt Men of his Age in *Italy*; who, in the War between *Giovanni d' Anjou* and *Ferdinando*, though the latter was ſupported by the Pope, and the Duke of *Milan*, had always counſelled their Republic not to oppoſe *Giovanni*. They alſo revived the Memory of *Lorenzo* Father of *Piero*, who at every Report of the Return of the *Anjouins* was always of the ſame Opinion as *Coſmo*; and, terrified at the Power of the *French*, after this very King was become Maſter of *Bretany*, uſed to ſay that he foreſaw great Calamities coming upon *Italy*, if ever the King of *France* ſhould become ſenſible of his Strength. But *Piero de' Medici*, taking his Meaſures more from Inclination than Prudence, and preſuming too much on his own Opinion, thought this mighty Storm would blow over, and ſpend itſelf in Noiſe and Bluſter, rather than in working any real Effect. He therefore liſtened to the Perſuaſions of ſome of his Miniſters, who were ſuſpected to have been corrupted by *Alfonſo*, and being determined to perſiſt in his Friendſhip with the *Aragonians*, his A. D. 1494.

Power

A. D. 1494. Power was ſo great in *Florence*, that all were obliged to ſubmit to his Will.

I HAVE it from good Authority, that *Piero*, not content with inheriting the Power his Father had exerciſed in the Republic, tho' ſuch, that he had the Nomination of all the Magiſtrates, and nothing of Moment could be tranſacted without his Approbation, yet aſpired to a more abſolute Sovereignty, and intended to take upon him the Title of Prince; without wiſely eſtimating the Circumſtances of the City, which at that Time being powerful, and abounding in Riches, and which had now, for ſeveral Ages, been amuſed with a Shew of a Republic, in which the better Sort of Citizens, being accuſtomed to participate in the Government, were rather like Colleagues than Subjects, it was not likely that they would ſubmit to ſo great and ſudden a Change without much Violence. *Piero* therefore being ſenſible that it was neceſſary to lay ſome extraordinary Foundation for the Support of his ambitious Deſires, in order to ſecure himſelf of a powerful Defence for the Preſervation of his new Prin-

Principality, entered into boundleſs Engagements with the *Aragonians*, and reſolved to run the ſame Fortune with them. And it happened that a few Days before the Arrival of the *French* Ambaſſador at *Florence*, it was diſcovered that *Lorenzo* and *Giovanni de' Medici*, young Men of great Wealth, and very nearly related to *Piero* by Blood, having fallen out with him on Occaſion of ſome youthful Trick which he had played them, had by means of *Coſmo Rucellai*, Couſin German of *Piero*, entered into ſome Negociations with *Lodovico Sforza*, and through his Introduction with the King of *France*, which were directly levelled againſt the Greatneſs of *Piero*. For this Offence they were taken into Cuſtody by the Magiſtrates, but came off with a very ſlight Puniſhment, being only confined to their Country Houſes, the Moderation of the Citizens, tho' not without great Difficulty, prevailing on *Piero* to conſent that the Rigour of the Laws ſhould not be exerciſed upon his own Blood. As he was, however, convinced by this Accident, that *Lodovico Sforza* was intent on procuring his Ruin, he judged it the more neceſſary

A. D. 1494.

A Plot againſt *Piero de' Medici*.

A. D. 1494. neceſſary for him to perſevere in his firſt Reſolution.

An Anſwer was then given to the Ambaſſadors in kind and reſpectful Terms, but not concluſive according to their Expectations; repreſenting, on one hand, the natural Affection of the *Florentines* to the Houſe of *France*, and their immenſe Deſire of ſatisfying ſo glorious a King; on the other ſhewing the Impediments that lay in the Way, ſince nothing could be more unworthy of Princes or Republics, than not faithfully to obſerve their Engagements, the expreſs Violation of which they could not avoid, if they conſented to his Demands, conſidering that there ſtill ſubſiſted the Confederacy, which, by the Authority of King *Lewis* his Father, they had contracted with *Ferdinando*, with a Promiſe, that after his Death it ſhould take Place in *Alfonſo*, and with an expreſs Condition that they ſhould be obliged not only to the Defence of the Kingdom of *Naples*, but to refuſe a Paſſage through their Territories to any Power that ſhould offer to invade it: That they were extremely ſor-

ry

ry that it was impoſſible for them to take any other Reſolution, but hoped that the King, out of his conſummate Wiſdom and Juſtice, knowing their very good Diſpoſition, would aſcribe their not promiſing to anſwer his Expectations to Impediments of ſo juſt a Nature. The King was highly provoked at this Anſwer, and ordered the Ambaſſadors immediately to depart out of *France*, and expelled from *Lions*, at the Inſtigation of *Lodovico Sforza*, the Managers of the Bank of *Piero de' Medici*, but not the reſt of the *Florentine* Merchants, that this Diſtinction might be interpreted at *Florence*, as an Acknowledgement that his Majeſty reſented this Injury as a particular Act of *Piero*, in which the Generality of the Citizens were unconcerned *. *A. D.* 1494. *Florentine* Ambaſſadors order-ed to quit *France*.

WHILE all the other *Italian* Potentates were thus divided, ſome in Favour of the King of *France*, others in Oppoſition to him, the *Venetians* alone were determined to ſtand neuter, and wait, at leiſure, the Iſſue of theſe Commotions, either becauſe they

* The Family of the *Medici* got immenſe Wealth by Trade, and were, by far, the greateſt Bankers in thoſe Days.

A. D. 1494. they were not diſpleaſed to ſee *Italy* embroiled, in Hopes that a long War exhauſting the other Powers might give them an Opportunity of enlarging their own Dominions, or becauſe their Greatneſs ſecuring them from all Apprehenſions of falling an eaſy Prey to the Conqueror, they judged it an imprudent Step to make the Quarrels of other People their own without apparent Neceſſity. *Ferdinando*, however, was continually ſolliciting them, and the King of *France*, both the Year before and at this preſent Juncture, had ſent to *Venice* Ambaſſadors, who had repreſented to the Senate the Friendſhip and Benevolence that had always ſubſiſted between the Houſe of *France* and their Republic, and had been corroborated by mutual affectionate Returns and kind Offices on all Occaſions: That the King being deſirous to improve this Diſpoſition intreated that moſt wiſe Aſſembly to vouchſafe to aſſiſt him in his Undertaking with their Counſel and Favour. To this Repreſentation they had prudently and briefly anſwered, that the Moſt Chriſtian King was a Prince of ſuch great Wiſdom, and had about him ſuch

French Ambaſſadors at Venice.

ſuch Numbers of grave and moderate Counſellors, that it would be too preſumptuous for any one to undertake to adviſe him; adding that the *Venetian* Senate ſhould rejoice at every proſperous Event that might attend him out of a Reſpect which they had always entertained for the Crown of *France*, and were therefore extremely ſorry that they were in no Condition to make their Deeds correſpond with the Readineſs of their Inclinations. For the Apprehenſions under which they were continually held by the Grand *Turk*, who wanted neither Will nor very fair Opportunities to attack them, laid them under a Neceſſity of keeping Garriſons in many Iſlands and maritime Towns on his Frontiers at a prodigious Expence, for which Reaſon they could not in Prudence think of involving themſelves in other Wars. A. D. 1494.

BUT the Speeches of theſe Ambaſſadors, and the Anſwers made them were of little Significancy with reſpect to the Preparations both by Sea and Land which were carried on in every Quarter. For *Charles* had ſent *Pierre d'Urſé*, his Grand Ecuyer,

A. D. 1494. Ecuyer, to *Genoa*, of which City the Duke of *Milan* had made himſelf Maſter by Means of the Faction of the *Adorni* and of *Giovan Luigi dal Fieſca*, in order to fit out a powerful Fleet of Ships and Galleys, beſides other Veſſels which he cauſed to be equipped in the Ports of *Villafranca* and *Marſeilles*, whence it was publicly talked in his Court that it was deſigned to attack *Naples* by Sea, as *Giovanni* Son of *René* had formerly done in his War againſt *Ferdinando*. Many, however, in *France* ſtill believed that theſe mighty Preparations would prove of no Service, grounding their Opinion on the King's weak Capacity, the mean Abilities of his Counſellors, and the Want of Money; but the Ardor of the King could not be controuled. At the Perſuaſions of ſome who were moſt intimate with him, he had aſſumed the Title of King of *Jeruſalem* and of the *Two Sicilies*, claimed at that Time by the *Neapolitan* Kings, and was ardently intent on making Proviſions of War, collecting Money, reviewing his Men at Arms, and concerting Meaſures with *Galeazzo di San Severino*, who was privy to all the ſecret Counſels

Counſels and Reſolutions of *Lodovico Sforza*. A. D. 1493.

ALFONSO, on the other hand, who had not neglected making Preparations both by Sea and Land, reſolving no longer to ſuffer himſelf to be cajoled by *Lodovico*'s fair Promiſes, thought it more expedient to terrify and diſtreſs him, than to fatigue himſelf in vain Endeavours to mollify and ſecure him on his Side. He therefore ordered the *Milaneſe* Ambaſſador to quit *Naples*, recalled his own from *Milan*, and put under Sequeſtration the Revenues of the Dutchy of *Bari*, which had been for many Years enjoyed by *Lodovico* by Donation of *Ferdinando*; and not content with theſe rather Indications of open Enmity than real Hoſtilities, he determined to be the firſt Aggreſſor, and applied all his Thoughts to deprive the Duke of *Milan* of the City of *Genoa*, an Enterpriſe, in the preſent Juncture, of the greateſt Importance. For a Revolution in that City could not fail of creating great Uneaſineſs to *Lodovico* in his Government of *Milan*, and the King of *France* would be de-

A. D. 1494. prived of an Opportunity of moleſting *Naples* by Sea. With this View he ſecretly treated with Cardinal *Pagolo Fregoſo*, who had been formerly Doge of *Genoa*, and had many Partiſans of the ſame Family, and with *Obietto dal Fieſco*, both Heads of ſtrong Parties in that City and in its *Rivieras*, and alſo with ſome of the Maleconteuts of the *Adorni*, who were all Fugitives on ſome Account or other. *Alfonſo* therefore reſolved to make an Attempt for their Reſtoration, being often heard to ſay, that Preventions and Diverſions were the beſt Means to overcome an Enemy. He deſigned alſo to march in Perſon at the Head of a potent Army into *Romagna*, in order to paſs from thence with all Expedition into the Territory of *Parma*, where, by declaring for the Cauſe and ſetting up the Standard of *Giovan Galeazzo*, he was in Hopes that the People of the Dutchy of *Milan* would make an Inſurrection againſt *Lodovico*. And though it might be difficult for him to ſucceed, he judged it highly for his Advantage that the War ſhould commence at a great Diſtance from his own Kingdom, and a Matter

Matter of no ſmall Importance towsrds a Deciſion of the War, that the *French* ſhould be overtaken by the Winter in *Lombardy*, by which, he imagined, that, according to what is practiſed only in Wars in *Italy*, where the Armies are not uſed to take the Field till the latter End of *April*, they would be obliged, in order to avoid the Rigour of the Seaſon, to take up their Quarters in the Country of their Friend till Spring, in which Interval of Time he was in Hopes that ſome Opportunity might offer for his Preſervation. *A. D.* 1494.

He alſo ſent Ambaſſadors to *Conſtantinople*, to demand Aſſiſtance, as in a Caſe of common Danger, of *Bajazet*, the *Ottoman* Prince of the *Turks*, on account of what was publickly reported that it was the Intention of *Charles*, after he had conquered *Naples*, immediately to paſs into *Greece*. This was a Danger which he knew *Bajazet* could by no means deſpiſe, for the Fame of the Expeditions of the *French* Nation into *Aſia* againſt the Infidels in Times paſt had infuſed into the *Turks* no ſmall Terror of their Arms. *Alfonſo* applies to *Bajazet* for Aſſiſtance.

A D. 1494.

Oſtia taken by the Pope.

WHILE theſe Things were in Agitation on all Sides, the Pope ſent his Troops to *Oſtia* under the Command of *Nicolo Orſini*, Count of *Pitigliano*, who, aſſiſted by *Alfonſo* both by Sea and Land, made himſelf Maſter of the Town without Difficulty, and having begun to batter the Caſtle, the Governor, by the Interpoſition of *Fabritio Colonna*, and with the Conſent of *Giovanni della Rovere*, Prefect of *Rome*, and Brother of the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*, gave up the Place after a few Days Reſiſtance. By the Capitulation the Pope was obliged not to proſecute, either with Cenſures or Arms, the Cardinal nor Prefect, without freſh Provocation; and *Grotta Ferrata*, which the Cardinal had left in the Hands of *Fabritio*, was to continue in his Poſſeſſion with the ſame Rights, on his paying 10,000 Ducats to the Pope.

But *Lodovico Sforza*, whom the Cardinal, when he paſſed from *Savona*, had made acquainted with the ſecret Negotiations which *Alfonſo*, by his Counſels and Mediation,

ation, was tranſacting with the Exiles of *Genoa*, having repreſented to *Charles* the great Obſtacles that might reſult from thence to his Deſigns, induced him to give Orders for the March of 2000 *Swiſs* to *Genoa*, and for the immediate Paſſage of 300 Lances into *Italy*. *Aubigni* who was returning from *Rome*, but had Orders from the King to ſtop at *Milan*, was to take the Command of theſe Lances, and hold himſelf in Readineſs either for the Security of *Lombardy*, or to proceed forwards as Neceſſity or Occaſion required, in Conjunction with 500 Men at Arms, liſted at the ſame time into the King's Pay, under *Giovan Franceſco da San Severino*, Count of *Gajazzo*, *Galeotto Pico*, Count of *Mirandola*, and *Ridolfo da Gonzaga*, beſides 500 others whom the Duke of *Milan* was obliged to furniſh. *Lodovico*, not forgetting his uſual Arts, ceaſed not to aſſure the Pontiff, and *Piero de' Medici*, of his Diſpoſition to procure the Peace and Security of *Italy*, feeding ſometimes one, ſometimes the other with Hopes that he would ſoon make it appear by evident Demonſtration. A. D. 1494.

A. D. 1494.

It is hardly poſſible that a very ſtrong Aſſeveration ſhould not leave ſome Doubt in the Minds of thoſe who are determined to believe the contrary; And therefore tho' no longer Credit was given to *Lodovico*'s Promiſes, the Execution of thoſe Enterprizes that had been concerted was, however, by this means, in ſome meaſure retarded. For both the Pope and *Piero de' Medici* would have been extremely pleaſed with making an Attempt on *Genoa*, but becauſe ſuch a Step would amount to a direct Attack upon the State of *Milan*, the Pope being requeſted by *Alfonſo* to lend him his Gallies, and to join his Forces with his in *Romagna*, agreed to unite their Troops for their common Defence in *Romagna*, but not to proceed any farther; but as to the Gallies he made ſome Difficulty, alledging that it was not yet a proper Time to drive *Lodovico* to ſo great a Degree of Deſpair. The *Florentines* were alſo requeſted to afford a Receptacle and Refreſhments to the *Neapolitan* Fleet in the Port of *Livorno*, but heſitated for the ſame Reaſon, and becauſe, as they had excuſed themſelves from com-

complying with the Demands of the King of *France*, under Pretence of their Confederacy with *Ferdinando*, they were by no means diſpoſed to take any further Steps, than thoſe to which they were bound by their League, till they were forced by Neceſſity. *A. D.* 1494.

The Pope and *Alfonſo* meet at *Vicovaro*.

THE State of Affairs now admitting of no further Delay, the Fleet, at laſt, under Admiral Don *Federigo*, ſet Sail from *Naples*, and *Alfonſo* in Perſon, aſſembled his Army in the *Abruzzi*, with a Deſign to paſs into *Romagna*. But before he proceeded he thought it neceſſary to have a Conference with the Pope, who was equally deſirous of it, in order to ſettle what Meaſures were to be taken for their common Safety. On the thirteenth of *July* they met one another at *Vicovaro*, a Town belonging to *Virginio Orſino*, where they held a Conference which laſted three Days, and afterwards parted with mutual Satisfaction. In this Meeting it was reſolved, by Advice of the Pope, that the King ſhould proceed no farther in Perſon; but that his Army, which, as he affirmed,

A. D. 1494. conſiſted of little leſs than a Hundred Squadrons of Men at Arms, reckoning twenty Men to a Squadron, and above 3000 Archers with Croſs-bows, and light Horſe, ſhould, Part of them, commanded by himſelf, poſt themſelves on the Frontiers of the *Abruzzi*, for the Security of the eccleſiaſtic State, and of his own Dominions; that *Virginio* ſhould remain in the Territory of *Rome*, to obſerve the *Colonna's*, who had given Umbrage, and made it thought proper to diſpoſe of 200 of the Pope's Men at Arms, and Part of the King's light Horſe in *Rome*; and that *Ferdinando* Duke of *Calabria* (which is the Title of the eldeſt Son of the Kings of *Naples*) a young Prince of vaſt Hopes, ſhould take his March into *Romagna* with Seventy Squadrons, the Remainder of the light Horſe, and the greater Part of the eccleſiaſtical Troops, which laſt was granted only for acting on the defenſive. The young Duke was to be attended into the Field, as Moderators of his Youth, by *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, General of the King's Army, and Count *Pitigliano*, both famous and expert Commanders, the laſt

of

of whom left the Pope's to enter into the King's Service. It was imagined that the Duke's Preſence, if the Army advanced into *Lombardy*, would be of great Service to the Cauſe, ſince he was allied by a near and double Relation to *Giovanni Galeazzo*, who was the Huſband of *Iſabella* his Siſter, and Son of *Galeazzo*, Brother of *Ippolita*, who was his Mother. A. D. 1494.

BUT one of the moſt important Concerns that came under Conſideration between the Pope and *Alfonſo* was the Affair of the *Colonna's*, who gave manifeſt Suſpicions that they were forming ſome new Plot. For *Proſpero* and *Fabritio* having ſerved the late King, and obtained of him States and honourable Privileges, *Proſpero*, who, ſince his Deceaſe, after many Promiſes to *Alfonſo* to keep his Poſt in the Army, had, by means of Cardinal *Aſcanio*, engaged himſelf in common to the Pope and the Duke of *Milan*, would not afterwards conſent, tho' ſollicited, to throw up *Lodovico*'s Commiſſion, and remain ſolely in the Pope's Pay: And *Fabritio*, who had continued in *Alfonſo*'s Service, ſeeing the Pope

A. D. 1494. Pope and the King incenſed againſt *Proſpero*, made a Difficulty of attending the Duke of *Calabria* into *Romagna*, if the Concerns of *Proſpero* and of the whole Family of the *Colonna's* were not by ſome proper Method firſt ſettled and ſecured. This Pretence ſerved as a Colour for their Scruples, but in ſecret they were both influenced by their extraordinary Friendſhip with Cardinal *Aſcanio*, who had a few Days ſince left *Rome* to avoid the Pope's Jealouſy, and retired into their Territories, and by the Hopes of greater Emoluments, but much more by their Reſentment againſt *Alfonſo* for beſtowing the firſt Place in his Court, and the moſt ample Share of his Proſperity on *Virginio Orſino*, the Head of the contrary Faction, which altogether induced them to enter into the *French* Service. And to conceal their Intention, till they thought they might declare their new Engagements with Safety, they pretended to deſire an Agreement with the Pontiff and *Alfonſo*; who inſiſting that *Proſpero* ſhould take the whole Command under them, ſince otherwiſe they could not be ſecure of his having left the Service of the Duke of *Milan*, treated conti-

continually with them. But the *Colonna's*, in order to prevent coming to a Concluſion, ſtarted from time to time freſh Objections againſt the Conditions that were propoſed. A. D. 1494.

WHILE this Treaty was in Hand *Alexander* and *Alfonſo* had different Views: The Pope wanted to ſeize on the Caſtles which the *Colonna's* poſſeſſed in the *Roman* Territory, and was glad of an Opportunity to attack them; but the King, having no other View than his own Preſervation, was loth to have recourſe to Arms but as the laſt Remedy. But he durſt not preſume to oppoſe the Pontiff's ambitious Deſire, and therefore they reſolved to force Submiſſion by Hoſtilities, and the Number of Troops and Order of Attack were ſettled between them; but a Tryal was to be firſt made whether ſome Way might not be found within a few Days for an Accommodation.

THESE and many other Negotiations were tranſacted on all Sides, till at laſt the Sailing of Don *Federigo* on the Expedition to *Genoa* gave a Beginning to the *Italian* War. This Admiral had certainly under his

A. D. 1494. his Command the greateſt and beſt provided Fleet that for many Years had ſailed on the *Tuſcan* Sea; for it conſiſted of Thirty-five light Gallies, Eighteen Ships of War, and a great Number of ſmaller Veſſels, was furniſhed with a large Quantity of Artillery, and had on board Three Thouſand Foot for making a Deſcent. Confiding in theſe mighty Proviſions, and in the Exiles whom he carried with him, *Federigo* left *Naples* with vaſt Hopes of Succeſs. But the Delay of his Departure, occaſioned by Difficulties common to all great Movements, and in ſome meaſure by the artful Hopes given by *Lodovico*, and afterwards their ſtopping in the Ports of the *Seneſe* in order to enliſt Five Thouſand Men, had rendered difficult an Enterpriſe which a Month before would have proved very eaſy. For the Enemy having had Time to make powerful Proviſions, the Bailiff of *Dijon* was already entered into *Genoa* with Two Thouſand *Swiſs* in the Pay of the King of *France*, and, beſides a great Number of Ships and Gallies equipped in the Port, there were arrived Part of the armed Veſſels deſigned from *Marſeilles*.

Lodovico

Lodovico alſo, ſparing no Coſt, had diſpatched thither *Gaſparo da San Severino* ſirnamed *Francaſſa*, and *Antonmaria* his Brother with a Body of Foot. And that he might make as much Uſe of the Hearts and Affections of the *Genoeſe*, as of the Aſſiſtance of foreign Troops, he ſecured to his Intereſt, with Gifts, Penſions, Promiſes, and various Rewards, the Good Will of *Giovan' Luigi dal Fieſco* Brother of *Obietto*, the *Adorni*, and many others, both of the Nobility and popular Party, who were beſt qualified for keeping the City in Order; and, on the other hand, he ſummoned a great Number of Partiſans of the Exiles from *Genoa* and all the Towns of the *Rivieras* to *Milan*. To theſe Preparations, great and powerful in themſelves, the Preſence of *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans* added new Life and Reputation. That Nobleman arrived about the ſame time that the *Aragonian* Squadron was diſcovered on the Sea of *Genoa*, and made his Entry into that Town with a Commiſſion from the King of *France*, after he had held a Conference at *Alexandria*, on Matters relating to the common Cauſe, with *Lodovico*

A. D. 1493.

Duke of *Orleans* arrives at *Genoa*.

A. D. 1494. vico *Sforza*, who very joyfully received, and treated him with great Honour, but as his Equal, little imagining (as the Affairs of Mortals are wrapt up in Obſcurity) how ſoon his Dominions would be in his Power, and his Life lie at his Mercy.

THESE Apprehenſions and Precautions occaſioned the *Aragoneſe*, who had before deſigned to preſent themſelves with their Fleet in the Port of *Genoa*, in Hopes that the Friends of the Exiles would raiſe ſome Commotions, to change their Reſolution, and determine to attack the *Rivieras*. But after various Debates whether it were moſt adviſeable to attack the *Eaſtern* or *Weſtern Riviera*, it was at laſt agreed to follow the Opinion of *Obietto*, who promiſed himſelf great Aſſiſtance from the Inhabitants of the *Eaſtern Riviera*, and to ſail directly to the Town of *Porto Venere*. But the Place being defended by Four Hundred Foot diſpatched thither from *Genoa*, and the Inhabitants animated by the Preſence of *Giovan Luigi dal Fieſco*, who was arrived from *Spetie*, they were repulſed in an Aſſault which laſted ſeveral Hours:

Hours: Loſing therefore all Hopes of making themſelves Maſters of the Town they ſailed off, and retired into the Port of *Livorno*, in order to take in Proviſions, and augment the Number of their Foot; for being aſſured that the Towns of the *Riviera* were well provided, it was thought neceſſary to act with a greater Force. Here Don *Federigo* receiving Advice that the *French* Fleet, which was inferior to his in Gallies, but ſuperior in Ships of War, was preparing to ſail out of the Port of *Genoa*, ſent back his Ships to *Naples*, that he might the more readily by the Swiftneſs of his Gallies diſengage himſelf from the Enemy, if they ſhould come and attack him with their Gallies and Ships in Conjunction; though he was not without Hopes of defeating them, if by Accident or Deſign their Ships ſhould be ſeparated from their Gallies. A. D. 1494.

In the mean time the Duke of *Calabria* was marching with a Land Army towards *Romagna*, with an Intention to advance from thence into *Lombardy*, according to the firſt Reſolutions. But to ſecure

A. D. 1494. a free Paſſage, and leave no Impediments behind him, it was neceſſary to aſſure himſelf of the Friendſhip of the State of *Bologna*, and of the Cities of *Imola* and *Forli*; for *Ceſena*, a City immediately ſubject to the Pope, and the City of *Faenza* ſubject to *Aſtorre di Manfredi*, a Child, in the Pay and governed under the Protection of the *Florentines*, were very ready to furniſh the *Aragonian* Army with all Conveniencies. *Forli* and *Imola* were under the Government of *Ottaviano*, Son of *Geronimo Riario*, with the Title of Vicar of the Church, but under the Tutelage and Direction of his Mother *Caterina Sforza*. The Pope and *Alfonſo* had for ſeveral Months been treating with this Lady about taking *Ottaviano* into their common Pay, with an Obligation comprehending the Defence of his States. But the Treaty was never perfected, partly becauſe of the Difficulties which ſhe interpoſed in order to obtain better Conditions, and partly becauſe the *Florentines*, perſiſting in their firſt Reſolution not to proceed againſt the King of *France* beyond the Obligations under which they ſtood to *Alfonſo*,

ſonſo were determined not to concur in the Expence, and their Conſent was neceſſary becauſe the Pope and the King refuſed to be at all the Charges; but much more becauſe *Caterina* declared that ſhe would not endanger thoſe Cities, unleſs the *Florentines* as well as the others obliged themſelves to defend the States of her Son. A Conference which *Ferdinando*, in marching with his Army to *Romagna* by the Way of *Marecchia*, had with *Piero de' Medici* at *Borgo a San Sepolcro* removed theſe Difficulties. For they had no ſooner met than the Duke, by Commiſſion from his Father *Alfonſo*, made an Offer to *Piero* of himſelf and his Army to be employed, wholly at his Diſcretion, in all Affairs relating to *Florence*, *Siena* and *Faenza*. *Piero* fluſhed with thoſe Offers became as hot and forward as ever, and returning to *Florence* was pleaſed, though diſſuaded by the wiſeſt of the Citizens, that the Republic ſhould give its Conſent to this Treaty, becauſe *Ferdinando* with the utmoſt Earneſtneſs inſiſted on it. *Ottaviano*, being taken into Pay at the joint Expence of the Pope, *Alfonſo*, and the *Florentines*, A. D. 1494.

A. D. 1494. within a few Days after the City of *Bologna* acceded to their Alliance, by means of hiring in the ſame Manner *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, by whoſe Authority and abſolute Will it was governed, and to whom the Pope promiſed, under the Guaranty of the King and *Piero de' Medici*, to create his Son *Anton Galeazzo*, then Apoſtolical Protonotary, a Cardinal. The Taking theſe Lords into Pay gave great Reputation to *Ferdinando*'s Army, and would have given it much greater, if on this Succeſs he had immediately entered *Romagna*. But ſuch was the Slowneſs of the *Aragonians* in marching from the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Diligence of *Ludovico Sforza*, that as ſoon as *Ferdinando* arrived at *Caſena*, *Aubigni* and Count *Gajazzo*, General of *Sforza*'s Troops, with Part of the Army appointed to oppoſe the *Aragonians*, were paſſed through the *Bolognieſe* without Obſtacle, and entered into the Territory of *Imola*. Hence *Ferdinando*, diſappointed of his firſt Hopes of paſſing into *Lombardy*, was neceſſitated to fix the Seat of the War in *Romagna*, where, though the other Cities were in the

the *Aragonian* Intereſt, yet *Ravenna*, and *Cervia*, which were ſubject to the *Venetians*, obſerving a Neutrality, and the little Country adjacent to the *Po*, being in the Poſſeſſion of the Duke of *Ferrara*, the *French* and *Milaneſe* Troops wanted for no Conveniency. A. D. 1494.

BUT *Piero de'Medici*, not in the leaſt reclaimed from his Raſhneſs by the Miſcarriage of the Enterprize on *Genoa*, nor the Obſtacles that preſented themſelves in *Romagna*, entered into a private Convention with the Pope and *Alfonſo*, unknown to the Republic, in which he obliged himſelf to oppoſe the King of *France* with open Arms, and not only conſented that the *Neapolitan* Fleet ſhould be allowed a Reception, and to take in Proviſions, in the Port of *Livorno*, with Liberty to liſt Soldiers in any Part of the *Florentine* Dominions, but tranſgreſſing all Bounds of Moderation cauſed *Annibale Bentivoglio*, Son of *Giovanni*, in the Pay of the *Florentines*, to join the Army of *Ferdinando*, with his Regiment, and that of *Alberre Manfredi*, as ſoon as he entered the Territory of *Forli*, be-

A. D. 1494. ſides which he ſent him 1000 Foot with Artillery.

THE like Diſpoſition ſeemed to continue in the Pope, who, beſides his warlike Preparations, did not think it enough, firſt to exhort *Charles*, by a Brief, not to paſs into *Italy*, but to proceed in a judicial Way, and not by Force of Arms, but afterwards, by another Brief, ſent him poſitive Orders to forbear under Pain of the eccleſiaſtical Cenſures: And, by means of the Biſhop of *Cagliari*, his Nuntio at *Venice*, uſed all his Endeavours, in Concert with the *Neapolitan* Miniſters, who reſided there for that Purpoſe, and thoſe of the *Florentines*, who acted ſomewhat more cautiouſly, to engage that Senate, out of Regard to the public Safety of *Italy*, to oppoſe the *French* with Arms, or at leaſt to make lively Repreſentations to *Lodovico*, that they were highly diſſatisfied with his new Meaſures. But the Doge, in the Name of the Senate, anſwered, that it was not the Part of a wiſe Prince to draw a War into his own Dominions, to ſave thoſe of his Neighbours; and, accordingly, it was agreed to act

act in a Manner, that neither Party might have juſt Reaſon from outward Appearances, or real Effects, to take Offence. *A. D.* 1494.

THE King of *Spain*, being preſſed by the Pope and *Alfonſo*, promiſed to ſend his Fleet, with a great Number of Troops into *Sicily*, in order to ſuccour, if it ſhould be needful, the Kingdom of *Naples*. And becauſe the King complained of the Want of Money, to haſten the Expedition, *Alfonſo* ſent him a certain Sum, and *Alexander* gave him Leave to employ, for this Purpoſe, the Money collected by the Authority of the Holy See, under the Name of the *Croiſſade*, in *Spain*, which was never known to have been made Uſe of, but againſt the Infidels, who, indeed, had little Cauſe to fear at preſent: For *Alfonſo* had before diſpatched ſeveral Meſſengers to *Conſtantinople*, and now ſent *Camillo Pandone*, who, by the Pope's Orders, was privately accompanied by *Giorgio Bucciardo*, a *Genoeſe*, a Perſon who had formerly been ſent thither by Pope *Innocent*. *Bajazet* received them with infinite Demonſtrations of Reſpect and Honour, and ſoon diſpatched them,

A. D. 1494. promiſing a powerful Aſſiſtance, which he afterwards confirmed by an Ambaſſador ſent on Purpoſe to *Naples*: But his Promiſes were never performed, either becauſe the Diſtance was ſo great, or becauſe it was not an eaſy Matter for *Turks* and *Chriſtians* to repoſe any Confidence in one another.

ALFONSO and *Piero*, finding that neither by Land nor Sea they had hitherto met with any Succeſs againſt *Lodovico*, reſolved to try if they could deceive him by his own Craft and Arts: But their Stratagems miſcarried as well as their Force. It was the Opinion of many, that *Lodovico*, in his Heart, with regard to his own Safety, could not be deſirous that *Charles* ſhould conquer *Naples*; but that his Deſign was, when he had made himſelf Duke of *Milan*, and brought the *French* Army into *Tuſcany*, to interpoſe his Mediation for ſome Agreement, by which *Alfonſo* ſhould acknowledge himſelf tributary to the Crown of *France*, and give the King a Security for the ſame; and perhaps diſmember from the *Florentines* the Towns they poſ-

ſeſſed

ſeſſed in the *Lunigiana*; and then prevail with the King to return into *France*. In this Manner he would humble the *Florentines*, diminiſh the Strength and Authority of the King of *Naples*, and ſecure himſelf in the Sovereignty of the *Milaneſe*, without running thoſe Riſques he had Reaſon to fear from a conquering *French* Army. That he hoped, as Winter was approaching, the King might meet with ſuch Difficulties as would retard the Courſe of his Victories, ſo as not to be able to proceed any farther than *Florence* till Spring: And as he was apprized of the impatient Temper of the *French*, the Want of Money, and the Diſlike of many of the Courtiers to this Expedition, he truſted that, in the mean Time, an Accommodation might be effected. But whatever were *Lodovico*'s firſt Deſigns, certain it is, that, tho' he had in the Beginning uſed all his Endeavours to detach *Piero* from the *Aragonians*, he now tampered, very ſecretly, with him, and encouraged him to perſiſt in his Alliance with *Alfonſo*, promiſing that he would ſo manage Matters, that the King of *France* ſhould either not paſs, or, if he did, ſhould *A. D.* 1494.

A. D. 1494. ſoon return without attempting any thing on this Side the Mountains. This Negotiation was carried on by his Miniſter reſiding in *Florence*, who was commiſſioned never to ceaſe preſſing this Point. *Lodovico* was either ſincere, or being bent on *Piero*'s Deſtruction took this Method to compleat it, leaving him no Room for a Reconciliation with the King of *France*. *Piero* gave Notice of theſe Negotiations to *Alfonſo*, who counſelled him to communicate them to the King of *France*: Wherefore *Piero*, feigning himſelf indiſpoſed, after concealing the *French* Miniſter where he might over-hear the Conference, ſent for *Lodovico*'s Ambaſſador; then repeating what the Ambaſſador had before propoſed, together with his Promiſes, ſaid it was owing to his Maſter's Authority, that he had ſo obſtinately refuſed the King of *France*'s Offers; and, grievouſly complaining that he ſhould be ſo earneſt in ſolliciting the King to come into *Italy*, concluded, That ſince *Lodovico*'s Actions were not conformable to his Promiſes, he was under a Neceſſity to take a Reſolution not to involve himſelf in ſo great a Danger,

A Plot againſt *Lodovico*.

Danger. The *Milaneſe* replied, That he had no Reaſon to doubt of his Maſter's Faith, if on no other Account, yet at leaſt becauſe it would prove equally dangerous to him if the King of *France* ſhould conquer *Naples*; exhorting him with the moſt powerful Perſuaſions to perſiſt in his Sentiments, for by departing from them he would be the Cauſe of reducing himſelf and all *Italy* into Slavery. The *French* Ambaſſador informed the King with what he had heard, and aſſured him that he was betrayed by *Lodovico*. But this cunning Device was not attended with the Effect propoſed by *Alfonſo*, and *Piero*; on the contrary ſome of the *French* Miniſtry themſelves having informed *Lodovico* of what had paſſed, he became more enraged than ever againſt *Piero*, and preſſed the King, with great Earneſtneſs, not to loſe any farther Time. A. D. 1494.

Now not only the vaſt Preparations by Land and Sea, but alſo Heaven and Men ſeemed to prognoſticate grievous Calamities to *Italy*: For all thoſe who made a Profeſſion of having attained, either by Skill

A. D. 1494. Skill or by divine Revelation, to a Knowledge of future Events, joined in declaring that there appeared greater and more frequent Changes, with ſtranger and more terrible Accidents, than had been known, for many Ages, in any Part of the World.

A Report of ſeveral Prodigies. And with no leſs Terror to Mankind it was confidently reported that ſeveral Prodigies had happened in different Parts of *Italy*: That three Suns, in the Night, had appeared in *Puglia*, in the Midſt of the Firmament, ſurrounded with Clouds full of dreadful Thunder and Lightning: That in the Territory of *Arezzo* Bands of Men in Armour, on huge Horſes, accompanied with a terrible Noiſe of Drums and Trumpets, had been plainly ſeen to paſs through the Air for ſeveral Days together: That, in divers Parts of *Italy*, the ſacred Images and Pictures had viſibly ſweated: Women and Animals had produced ſeveral Monſters: And that many other Accidents, that ſeemed contrary to the ordinary Courſe of Nature, had happened in divers Parts: Whence the Populace, already alarmed with the Apprehenſions of the Power and Fierceneſs of the

the *French*, were under the greateſt Conſternation. They were told, that Hiſtory was full of the Devaſtations committed by them in former Times: How they had plundered all *Italy*, and deſtroyed *Rome* with Fire and Sword: And that *Aſia*, and all Parts of the World, ſome time or other had felt the Weight of their Arms. *A. D.* 1494.

THESE Fears, produced by Celeſtial Signs, Predictions, Prognoſtics, and Prodigies, were every Day increaſed with the News they received of their Effects being at Hand: For *Charles*, fixed in his Reſolution, was now come to *Vienne* in *Dauphine*, and could neither be diſſuaded from going perſonally into *Italy* by the Intreaties of his whole Kingdom, nor retarded by the Want of Money; there not being, at that Time, a Sufficiency for the preſent Exigencies, without pawning, and that for no conſiderable Sum, certain Jewels he had borrowed of the Duke of *Savoy*, the Marchioneſs of *Montferrato*, and ſome other Noblemen of his own Kingdom. All the Money of the Finances, and what *Lodovico* had left him, had partly been expended

A. D. 1494. pended in fitting out his Fleet, on which great Dependance had been laid, and the reſt inconſiderately diſſipated at *Lyons* amongſt his Favourites. Nor could he, eaſily, procure a freſh Supply: For, in thoſe Days, Princes were not accuſtomed to extort Money from their Subjects, as they have ſince been taught to do, by immoderate Avarice and Ambition, without any Regard to human and divine Laws.

In this Diſorder, and on ſo ſlender a Foundation, *Charles* undertook this important War, hurried on rather by Impetuoſity and Raſhneſs, than guided by Prudence and Counſel. But, as it often happens at the Entrance upon the Execution of new, great, and hazardous Exploits, how maturely ſoever projected, that Men are apt to frighten themſelves with the Difficulties they raiſe in their Minds; ſo now, when the King was juſt ſetting out, and in Motion towards the *Alps*, a great Murmur ſpread over the Court, ſome complaining of the common Difficulties attending ſuch an Expedition, others of the Perfidiouſneſs of the *Italians*, and,

Murmurs in the *French* Camp.

above

above all, of the Treachery of *Lodovico Sforza*, againſt whom they might be more exaſperated, as they had, perhaps, heard that a Sum of Money expected from him was not arrived: And not only thoſe who had ever oppoſed it began now boldly to exclaim, but even ſome of thoſe who had been the principal Promoters, and, amongſt the reſt, the Biſhop of *St. Malo*, began viſibly to waver. These Clamours, coming at laſt to the King's Ears, raiſed ſuch a Commotion in all the Court, and in his own Breaſt, and ſuch an Inclination to ſtop all Proceedings, that he ſuddenly gave Orders for the Troops to halt; wherefore ſeveral Officers, who had already ſet out, returned back, ſuppoſing there would be no Expedition to *Italy*. And it was thought that would have been the Caſe, if the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*, a fatal Inſtrument then, before, and after, of all the Calamities of *Italy*, had not interpoſed, and with the Authority and Vehemence of his Speech melted the almoſt frozen Spirits of the Army, and brought the King back to his former Reſolution. He not only refreſhed the King's Memo-

A. D. 1494.

The King's Irreſolution.

ry

A. D. 1494 ry with the Motives which had induced him to engage in ſo glorious an Undertaking, but laid alſo before him the Scorn with which he would be treated by the whole World, if through his Levity ſo noble a Deſign was not carried into Execution.

Speech of the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola.*

" To what Purpoſe, ſaid he, has your Majeſty weakened your Barrier by the Reſtitution of the Towns of *Artois*, to your expoſing the Frontiers of your Kingdom on that Side? For what Reaſon have you opened a Door to the King of *Spain* to enter your Kingdom, by parting with *Rouſſillon*, to the great Diſſatisfaction of your Nobility and People? Such important Conceſſions were never made by Princes, but to free themſelves from the utmoſt Dangers, or with a View of obtaining ſome ſignal Advantage. But what Danger has appeared? What Neceſſity for changing your Reſolution? What Reward could be expected, but of purchaſing much greater Shame, and even that at a very dear Rate? What new Accidents, what Difficulties have ariſen? What Dangers

gers have been diſcovered ſince the Publi- *A. D.* 1494.
cation of this Enterprize to the whole World? On the contrary, are not the Hopes of Victory rather manifeſtly increaſed every Hour, the Foundation on which the Enemy built all their Hopes of Defence now failing them? For the *Aragonian* Fleet, after making a vain Attempt on *Porto Venere*, is ſhamefully fled back into the Port of *Livorno*, without obtaining any Advantage againſt *Genoa*, defended by ſo many Soldiers, and by a Fleet more powerful than their own; and a few of your Troops, poſted in *Romagna*, have been able to prevent *Ferdinando* from advancing into *Lombardy*. With what a Panic, then, muſt your Adverſaries be ſeized when they hear that the King himſelf, at the Head of ſo vaſt an Army, has paſſed the *Alps!* What Tumults will ariſe in all Parts! With what a Terror will the Pope be affected, when, from his Palace, he views the Arms of the *Colonna's* at the Gates of *Rome!* How confounded *Piero de' Medici*, to ſee thoſe of his own Blood riſe up againſt him, and his City loudly calling on the Name of the *French*, and ardently

A. D. 1494. ardently deſirous of recovering their Liberties infringed by him! Nothing will be able to retain your Majeſty's Rapidity till you arrive on the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Naples*; where your Approach will diffuſe the ſame Tumults and Terrors, and nothing elſe will be ſeen but Flight or Rebellion. Can there be any Apprehenſion of a Want of Money? None ſurely: For as ſoon as the Noiſe of your Arms, and the Thunder of that impetuous Artillery is heard in *Italy*, the *Italians* with ſtrive who can bring the greateſt Quantities. And, beſides, if any one ſhould offer to reſiſt, the Spoils, the Prey, the Riches of the Conquered will maintain the Army. For the *Italians*, being accuſtomed rather to a Show of than a real War, will not have Vigour enough to ſuſtain the *French* Fury. What Fears then, what Confuſion, what Dreams, what Spectres of Danger have poſſeſſed your Royal Breaſt? Where is the Magnanimity, where is the Fierceneſs, with which you boaſted, but four Days ſince, that you could overcome all *Italy* united together? He deſired he would conſider, that Things now were

were gone too far to recede; ſince his Towns were alienated, Ambaſſadors admitted, ſent, and diſmiſſed; the neceſſary Expences and Preparations made; his Intentions public, and he come in Perſon ſo near the Foot of the *Alps*. The State of his Affairs was now ſuch, that, tho' the Expedition were to appear never ſo hazardous, it could not be avoided; there being no Medium, in his preſent Situation, between Glory and Infamy, Flight and Triumph, or his being a King the moſt eſteemed, or the moſt deſpiſed in all the World. Why, then, ſhould he heſitate one Moment to proceed, and gather the Fruits of thoſe Victories already prepared for him?"

A. D. 1494

THIS was the Subſtance of the Cardinal's Speech, which according to his Nature, was delivered more with efficacious Reaſonings, and expreſſive Geſtures, than with ornamental Words; and had ſuch Effect on the King, that he would not hearken to any but thoſe who encouraged the War, and departed that very Day from *Vienne*, accompanied by all the Flower of

The King marches into *Italy*.

A. D. 1494. his Nobility and Officers, excepting the Duke of *Bourbon*, who was left Regent, and the Admiral, with ſome others, who were made Governors, and left to take Care of the moſt important Provinces. The March was ordered into *Italy* by *Mongi-nevra*, a much eaſier Paſs than that of *Monſeni*, over which of old *Hannibal*, with immenſe Trouble, made his Way *.

The King arrives at *Aſti*. THE 9th of *September*, 1494, *Charles* arrived at *Aſti*; bringing with him into *Italy* the Seeds of innumerable Calamities, horrible Events, and Changes in all Scenes of Affairs: For from this Paſſage derived their Origin not only Changes of States, Subverſions of Kingdoms, Deſolations of Cities, and moſt cruel Slaughters; but alſo new Faſhions, new and bloody Ways of making War, and Diſeaſes unknown till thoſe Days: Beſides, the Foundation and Arts of Government, which connected the Union of our Princes, have been ever ſince ſo unhinged, that they could never after be reinſtated; ſo that a Door was left open for ſtrange Nations,

* The Road to the Foot of *Monſeni*, or *Monſenis*, was not paſſable for Wheel-Carriages, till made ſo by a Duke of *Savoy* in the laſt Century.

Nations, and Armies of Barbarians to invade and oppreſs us. And for our greater Unhappineſs, that our Shame may not be leſſened by the Valour of the Conqueror, as to the Man who by his Coming was the Author of our Miſeries, it muſt be owned, that tho' he was ſo amply endowed with the Gifts of Fortune, yet he was no ways favoured by Nature either in Body or Mind: For certain it is that *Charles*, even from his Youth, was of a weak and infirm Conſtitution; ſhort, and very ugly, if you except ſome Sprightlineſs and Majeſty in his Eyes; and his Limbs were ſo diſproportioned, that he had rather the Appearance of a Monſter than a Man. He was not only ignorant of the polite Arts, but hardly knew the Figures of the Letters: A Soul aſpiring after Dominion, for which of all Things he was the leaſt qualified, for he was ever impoſed upon by his Courtiers, with whom he knew not how to preſerve either Majeſty or Authority. Indolent in every thing that required Trouble, and what he undertook was conducted with little Prudence or Judgment. If any thing appeared in him worthy of Praiſe, if tho-

A. D. 1494.

A. D. 1494. roughly examined, it was yet farther from Virtue than Vice: For he had an Inclination to Glory, but then he acted rather by Impulse than Counsel. He was liberal, but inconsiderate, without Measure or Distinction; steady, sometimes, in his Resolutions; but oftener from an ill-grounded Obstinacy than Constancy; and what many called Goodness, deserved rather the Name of Coldness and Weakness of Mind.

Objetto dal Fiesco seizes *Rapalle.*

THE Day he arrived at *Asti* Fortune began to shew herself propitious with a most joyful Omen, and welcomed him with a Piece of good News from *Genoa*. For Don *Federigo*, after retiring from *Porto Venere*, and refreshing himself, and recruiting at *Livorno*, had returned into the same *Riviera*, and landed *Objetto dal Fiesco* with Three Thousand Foot. That Commander, with little Difficulty, took *Rapalle*, a Town Twenty Miles distant from *Genoa*, and began to make Excursions all over the Country. This Beginning was an Affair of no small Importance in such a Town as *Genoa*, infected with Parties, where

where the leaſt Commotion was very dangerous. Wherefore thoſe who governed that City, that the Enemy might make no farther Progreſs, ſent the Brothers *San Severini*, and *Giovanni Adorni*, the Governor's Brother, with the beſt Part of the Troops, by Land againſt *Fieſcho*, a ſufficient Guard being left at *Genoa*: And the Duke of *Orleans* *, with a Thouſand *Swiſs*, embarked in the Fleet, which conſiſted of Eighteen Gallies, Six Galleons, and Nine large Veſſels. As ſoon as they all met near *Rapalle*, they very briſkly attacked the Enemy, who defended the Bridge in the Suburbs that leads into a ſmall Plain, which extends itſelf as far as the Sea. *A. D.* 1494. The Battle of *Rapalle*.

THE *Aragonians*, beſides their own Forces, were defended by their Situation, thoſe Places being rendered ſtronger by their Ruggedneſs than by military Fortifications, and therefore the firſt Attack did not promiſe Succeſs: For the *Swiſs*, not having Room to extend themſelves, began to give Way; till the brave Country Peo-

* The Duke of *Orleans* was married to *Anne*, the King's Siſter.

A. D. 1494. ple, who were Friends to the *Adorni*, and knew how to fight in thoſe craggy Mountains, crowded in from all Quarters; and at the ſame time the Artillery from the Fleet, which had approached as near as it could to the Shore, beginning to take the *Aragonians* in Flank, they began to open; and when they were driven from the Bridge, *Objetto*, whoſe Partiſans had not ſtirred to his Succour, hearing that *Luigi dal Fieſcho* was near them with a good Body of Foot, for Fear of being attacked in the Rear, was, according to the Cuſtom of Exiles, the firſt that ran away towards the Mountains, and his Example was followed by the reſt. There were killed, in fighting and in the Purſuit, above a Hundred Men; doubtleſs a great Slaughter, if we conſider the Manner of fighting in *Italy* in thoſe Days. *Amongſt the many Priſoners was *Giulio Orſini*, who was in the Service of *Alfonſo*, and had followed the Army with Forty Men at Arms, and ſome Croſs-Bows on Horſeback, *Frcgoſino*, Son of the Cardinal

Flight of the *Aragonians*.

* *Objetto*, after being ſtopped and ſearched three times in his Flight, ſaid facetiouſly to his Son, Let us ſtrip, and be as naked as *Adam*, and then we ſhall paſs on unmoleſted. The Biſhop of *Nebio*.

nal *Fregoſo*, and *Orlandino* of the ſame Family. This Victory intirely ſecured *Genoa*: For Don *Federigo*, immediately after landing the Troops, to avoid fighting with the *French* Fleet in the Gulph of *Rapalle*, put out to Sea, and deſpairing, for the preſent, of any farther Advantage, retired again to *Livorno*; and tho' he raiſed here ſome Recruits, and laid ſeveral Projects for attacking ſome other Place in the *Rivieras*, yet, as commonly one ſinks in Courage and Reputation when the Beginning of an Enterprize miſcarries, he became ſo diſheartened, that he did not venture to make any further Attempt worth Notice, giving juſt Reaſon to *Lodovico* to boaſt how with his Induſtry and Cunning he had baffled the Deſigns of his Enemies, whoſe tardy Motions were the ſole Cauſe of the Preſervation of *Genoa*, and this was procured by his Artifices, and vain Hopes given them. A. D. 1494.

LODOVICO SFORZA and *Beatrice* his Wife, with great Pomp, and attended with a moſt honourable Company of many Ladies of Quality, celebrated for Beauty, from *Lodovico* meets the King at *Aſti*.

A. D. 1494. different Parts of the *Milaneſe*, came to meet the King on his firſt Coming to *Aſti*; as did alſo *Ercole*, Duke of *Ferrara*. Here, after ſome Conferences on the common Affairs, it was reſolved, without Loſs of Time, to march the Army: And that this might be done with greater Speed, *Lodovico*, who was in no ſmall Concern for fear the Army, as the hard Seaſon was approaching, ſhould take up its Winter Quarters in the Dutchy of *Milan*, lent the King another Sum of Money, of which he was in no ſmall Want. But *Charles* falling ſick of the Small-Pox, ſtaid near a Month in *Aſti*, during which Time the Army was quartered in that City, and in the neighbouring Towns. This Army, as near as I can recollect from the different Accounts, beſides the two Hundred Gentlemen of the King's Guard, computing the *Swiſs* that went to *Genoa* with the Bailiff of *Dijon*, and thoſe with *Aubigni* in *Romagna*, conſiſted of 1600 Men at Arms, each of whom was attended with two Archers, and four Horſemen, that is to ſay, ſix Horſes to each Lance, this being the Name the *French* give to their Men at

at Arms, ſix Thouſand *Swiſs*, and ſix Thouſand Foot of his own Kingdom, Half of whom were of the Province of *Gaſcony*, which, according to a Notion of the *French*, abounds with warlike Foot more than any other Part of *France*. To join this Army there arrived by Sea at *Genoa* a great Quantity of Field Pieces and battering Cannon, ſuch as in *Italy* had never hitherto been ſeen. This Plague had its Origin many Years before in *Germany*, and was firſt brought from thence by the *Venetians*, about the Year 1380, at which Time the *Genoeſe* were at War with them, when the *Venetians* were beat by Sea, and ſo dejected for the Loſs of *Chioggia*, that if the *Genoeſe* had not let ſlip ſo fine an Opportunity, but had taken proper Counſel, they might have given them what Conditions they pleaſed. The largeſt Pieces of the Artillery we are ſpeaking of, were called *Bombarde*: And from that Time were ſpread through *Italy*, and made uſe of in Sieges. Some of them were made of Iron and ſome of Braſs, but they were of ſo large a Size, that, on account of the little Experience of the Artillery-men, and Clumſineſs of their Carriages,

A. D. 1494.

The *French* Artillery.

A. D. 1494. riages, they were moved from Place to Place very ſlowly and with great Difficulty; and for the ſame Reaſon were very unhandy when placed againſt the Walls of a Town. The Intervals between the Firings were ſo long, that a great deal of Time was loſt, and little Progreſs was made in compariſon to what we ſee in our Days. This gave Time to the Beſieged to caſt up Ramparts, and Fortifications behind the Breaches at their leiſure. But, notwithſtanding all theſe Impediments, the Violence of the Saltpetre, of which Gunpowder is made, was ſuch, that when theſe Inſtruments were ſet on Fire, the Balls flew with ſo horrible a Noiſe, and ſtupendous Force, even before they were brought to their preſent Perfection, that they rendered ridiculous all the Inſtruments, ſo much renowned, invented by *Archimedes* and others, and uſed by the Ancients in Sieges of Towns. But now the *French* brought a much handier Engine, made of Braſs, called *Cannon*, which they charged with heavy Iron Balls, ſmaller without Compariſon than thoſe of Stone made uſe of heretofore, and drove them on Carriages with

with Horſes, not with Oxen, as was the Cuſtom in *Italy*; and they were attended with ſuch clever Men, and on ſuch Inſtruments appointed for that Purpoſe, that they almoſt ever kept Pace with the Army. They were planted againſt the Walls of a Town with ſuch Speed, the Space between the Shots was ſo little, and the Balls flew ſo quick, and were impelled with ſuch Force, that as much Execution was done in a few Hours, as formerly, in *Italy*, in the like Number of Days. Theſe, rather diabolical than human Inſtruments, were uſed not only in Sieges, but alſo in the Field, and were mixed with others of a ſmaller Size. Such Artillery rendered *Charles*'s Army very formidable to all *Italy*; formidable beſides, not for the Number but Valour of the Soldiers. The *Gens d' Armes* * were almoſt all Subjects of *France*, and not of the mean Sort, but Gentlemen, and were not enliſted or diſmiſſed at the Diſcretion of the Officers, nor paid by them, but by the Miniſtry. Their Companies were not only compleat, but themſelves, their Arms, and their Horſes, all in good Order; to effect

A. D. 1494.

* The Hiſtorians ſometimes calls the Lances *Gens d' Armes*.

A. D. 1494. effect which their Income was ſufficient. They ſerved chearfully, and with Emulation; inſpired not only by an Inſtinct of Honour which is nouriſhed in the Breaſt of Perſons of Birth, but alſo becauſe they had Reaſon to expect a Reward for their valiant Actions, both in Time of Peace and War; for Things were ſo ordered, that by different Steps they arrived to the Poſt of a Captain. The Officers of the Lances, who were all Barons, Nobles, or at leaſt Gentlemen, were alſo moſtly Subjects of *France*, and had the ſame Incitement to Glory. When any one of them was at the Head of a Hundred Lances, no Captain being allowed to command above that Number, he was at the Height of his Wiſhes, and all he had then to do, was to behave in ſuch a Manner as to merit his Prince's Approbation, and therefore lay under no Temptation to go into another Service, either to gratify Ambition or Avarice, and was free from any Emulation of being at the Head of a greater Company than his own.

A. D. 1493.

THE *Italian* Militia were quite the Reverſe, in which many of their Men at Arms, being a Mixture of Peaſants, People in low Life, and Subjects of different Potentates, and intirely dependant on their Captains, with whom they agreed for a Salary, and in whoſe Power it was to retain or diſmiſs them, were generally Perſons that had neither natural nor acquired Parts to enable them to act gallantly. The Captains were very ſeldom Subjects of the Prince they ſerved, but had often a different Intereſt, and ſeparate Views, were full of Piques and Jealouſies, their Service not commonly limited to a certain Time, and being intirely Maſters of their own Companies they ſeldom kept the Number they were paid for compleat. Nor were they ſatisfied with what was juſt, but took all Occaſions to impoſe upon their Maſters by exorbitant Accounts; never long ſettled, but when tired with one Service they paſſed into another, and tempted by Ambition, Avarice, or any Thing that concerned their Intereſt, were not only unſettled but often treacherous. Nor was there

A. D. 1494. there leſs Difference between the *French* and *Italian* Infantry: For the *Italians* were not uſed to fight in firm, ranged Battalions, but being diſperſed in the Field, on any Danger, often retired to take Advantage of Banks and Ditches. But the *Swiſs*, a very warlike Nation, who by long Experience, and by gaining many glorious Victories, have revived the Fame of the antient Valour, moved to the Charge in regular Battalions of a certain Number of Men in a Rank, and without ever breaking their Array, reſiſted the Impreſſion of the Enemy like a Wall that cannot be ſhaken, and almoſt impenetrable, whereever they had Room to extend their Battalions. The *French* and *Gaſcon* Foot obſerved the ſame Order and Diſcipline, but did not fight with the ſame Valour.

WHILE the King was detained by Sickneſs at *Aſti*, freſh Diſturbances aroſe in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. For tho' *Alfonſo* had yielded to all the immoderate Demands of the *Colonnas*, yet no ſooner had *Aubigni*, with the *French* Troops, entered *Romagna*, than they pulled off the Maſk,

Maſk, declared themſelves Soldiers of the King of *France*, and after corrupting ſome of the *Spaniſh* Garriſon got Poſſeſſion of the Cittadel of *Oſtia*. The Pope took this Opportunity to complain of the injurious Dealing of the *French* to all the Chriſtian Potentates, eſpecially to the King of *Spain*, and Senate of *Venice*; of which latter he made a fruitleſs Demand of the Succours with which they were bound to aſſiſt him by the Confederacy contracted between them but the laſt Year: And turning his Thoughts, with a firm Reſolution, on preparing for War, he cited *Proſpero* and *Fabritio* to *Rome*; and, on their Refuſal to appear, ordered their Palaces in *Rome* to be razed: Then, joining his Troops with Part of thoſe of *Alfonſo*, commanded by *Virginio* on the River *Teverone* near *Tivoli*, he ordered them to invade the Territories of the *Colonnas*, who had not above Two Hundred Men at Arms, and a Thouſand Foot. But the Pontiff afterwards miſtruſting that the *French* Squadron, which was reputed to be ſailed from *Genoa* to the Relief of *Oſtia*, would put in at *Nettuno*, a Town of the *Colonnas*, *Alfonſo* aſ-

A. D. 1494.

ſembled

A. D. 1494. ſembled at *Terracina* all the Troops which the Pope and he himſelf had in thoſe Parts, and laid Siege to *Nettuno*, expecting to be ſoon Maſter of the Place. But the *Colonnas* making a vigorous Defence, and the Regiments of *Camillo Vitelli* of *Citta di Caſtello*, and of his Brothers, who had lately entered into the *French* Service, being arrived in their Territories without Oppoſition, the Pope recalled to *Rome* Part of his Troops which were in *Romagna* with *Ferdinando*, whoſe Affairs did not proceed with the ſame proſperous Courſe as they ſeemed to take in the Beginning. For when he was arrived at *Villafranca* between *Forli* and *Faenza*, and from thence was proceeding along the main Road towards *Imola*, the Enemy's Army, which was poſted near *Villafranca*, and inferior in Strength, retired between the Wood of *Lugo* and *Colombara*, near the *Foſſato* of *Genivolo*, which is by Nature a very ſtrong Poſt, belonging to the Duke of *Ferrara*, from whoſe Country they were ſupplied with Proviſions. Hence *Ferdinando* being deprived of all Means of attacking them without great Danger, on account of the Strength of their

their Situation, decamped from *Imola*, and advanced to poſt himſelf at *Toſcanello*, near *Caſtel San Piero*, in the *Bologneſe*. For being deſirous to come to a Battle, he endeavoured, by making a Shew as if he intend to march towards *Bologna*, to lay the Enemy under a Neceſſity of quitting their Camp for one leſs ſtrong, in order to prevent him from advancing forwards. But their Army, after taking up their Quarters for ſome Days in the Neighbourhood of *Imola*, entrenched themſelves on the River *Santerno*, between *Lugo* and *Sant' Agata*, with the *Po* behind them, in a Camp ſtrongly fortified. *Ferdinando* the next Day advanced to the ſame River near *Mordano* and *Bubano*, within Six Miles of their Camp; and the Day following he approached within one Mile of them, in Order of Battle; but after waiting ſome Hours, to no Purpoſe, in a wide Plain, very commodious for an Engagement, and ſeeing the manifeſt Danger of attacking them in their Entrenchments, he went and poſted himſelf at *Barbiano*, a Village of *Cotignuola*, keeping no longer towards the Mountains as he had formerly done, A. D. 1494.

A. D. 1494. but flanking the Enemy, having always the ſame Intention of conſtraining them, if it were poſſible, to come out of their almoſt impregnable Situation. Hitherto the Affairs of the Duke of *Calabria* appeared to proceed much to his Reputation, for the Enemy openly declined to engage, defending themſelves rather by the Strength of their Entrenchments than by the Force of their Arms, and in ſome Skirmiſhes the *Aragonians* had rather the Superiority. But the *French* and the *Sforzeſcan* Army increaſing daily by the Arrival of the Troops which at firſt remained behind, the State of the War ſoon began to be altered: For the Duke's Ardour being reſtrained by his Governors, who would not permit him to fight under ſo much Diſadvantage, he retired to *Sant' Agata*, a Town of the Duke of *Ferrara*, where being in an Enemy's Country he entrenched himſelf, for his Foot were alſo diminiſhed, and by the Pope's recalling part of the Men at Arms of the Church, his whole Army was much leſſened. But a few Days after, on hearing that Two Hundred Lances, and a Thouſand *Swiſs*, who had

had been ſent by the King as ſoon as he came to *Aſti*, were on the Road, and ready to join the Army, he decamped, and fortified himſelf in the *Cerca* of *Faenza*, which lies between the Walls of the Town, and a wide Ditch about a Mile diſtant, that ſurrounds that City, and renders the Situation very ſtrong. He was no ſooner retired from *Sant' Agata*, than the Enemy came, and encamped on the ſame Spot that the *Aragonians* had quitted. A. D. 1494.

BOTH Armies, without Doubt, in their Turn ſhewed much Reſolution, when one ſaw the other inferior; but now their Forces were near equal, each avoided trying the Fortune of a Battle; ſo that, what rarely happens, the ſame Conduct pleaſed both Armies: The *French* thought they had gained the End for which they had paſſed from *Lombardy*, if they prevented the *Neapolitans* from advancing farther, that having been the ſole Motive for marching out of *Lombardy*; and *Alfonſo*, thinking it no ſmall Advantage if he retarded the Progreſs of the *French* till Winter, had given poſitive Orders to his Son, *Giovan Jacopo*

A. D. 1494. *Trivulzi*, and Count *Pitigliano*, not to truſt to Fortune the Fate of *Naples*, without a very fair Opportunity, ſince the Loſs of that Army would be followed with that of the Kingdom.

But all *Alfonſo*'s Precaution could not ſecure him; for *Charles*, whoſe violent Spirit was not to be reſtrained by Seaſons or Difficulties, as ſoon as his Strength permitted, put himſelf in Motion with his Army, and arriving at *Pavia*, lodged in the Caſtle, where *Giovanni*, Duke of *Milan*, lay dangerouſly ill. The Duke was Couſin-german to the King, they being the Sons of two Siſters, Daughters of *Lewis* the Second, Duke of *Savoy*, and the King paſſing thro' that City, and taking up his Quarters in the ſame Caſtle, paid his Kinſman a very kind Viſit. As *Lodovico* was preſent, the Converſation was general: *Charles* only expreſſed his Sorrow for his bad State of Health, and adviſed him to chear himſelf with Hopes of a Recovery; but all perceived the inward Compaſſion his Majeſty and Attendants had for him, every one aſſuring himſelf that the Life of the unhappy

happy Youth was drawing near its End, through the Treachery of his Uncle. *A. D.* 1494. And their Pity was much heightened by the Preſence of *Iſabella* his Wife, who anxious not only for her Huſband, and her Infant Son by him, but alſo extremely concerned at the Danger of her Father and her other Relations, threw herſelf in a moſt miſerable Manner, before all the Company, at the King's Feet, and with a Flood of Tears begged he would have Compaſſion on the Diſtreſſes of the *Aragonian* Family. *Charles*, moved with her Youth and Beauty, ſeemed to pity her; but, as it was impoſſible to put a Stop to ſo great a Movement on ſo ſlight an Occaſion, he anſwered that his Enterprize was in ſuch a Forwardneſs as laid him under a Neceſſity to proceed. From *Pavia* the King advanced to *Piacenza*, and while he ſtayed there he received the News of *Giovanni Galeazzo*'s Death. On this Advice *Lodovico*, who had accompanied him thither, returned immediately with all Speed to *Milan*, and aſſembled the Ducal Council, when the leading Men, ſuborned by him, delivered it as their Opinion, that, for the Dignity of that State in ſuch perilous

A. D. 1494. Times as threatned *Italy*, it would be very pernicious that the Son of *Galeazzo*, a Child of Five Years old, ſhould ſucceed his Father: That it was neceſſary to have a Duke of conſummate Wiſdom, and it was their Duty, for the Sake of the Public Safety, and, out of Neceſſity, to diſpenſe with the Diſpoſition of the Law, as the Laws themſelves permitted them to do, and to conſtrain *Lodovico* to give his Conſent, that, for the univerſal Benefit, the Ducal Dignity, which in ſuch Times was a moſt oppreſſive Burden, ſhould be transferred on himſelf.

UNDER this Colour, Honeſty giving Way to Ambition, *Lodovico*, tho' he pretended to make ſome Reſiſtance, the next Morning aſſumed the Titles and Enſigns of the Dukes of *Milan*, proteſting firſt in private that he received them as belonging to him by the Inveſtiture of the King of the *Romans*.

IT was publiſhed abroad, that the Death of *Galeazzo* had proceeded from an immoderate Uſe of the matrimonial Bed: But it was univerſally believed thro' *Italy* that

that no natural Infirmity, nor Incontinence was the Cauſe. And *Teodoro* of *Pavia*, one of the Royal Phyſicians, who was preſent when the King made his Viſit, affirmed that he had obſerved moſt manifeſt Symptoms of Poiſon. And if that was the Caſe, no one doubted but *Lodovico* was the Author, as one who, not being content with being the Governor of *Milan* with abſolute Authority, but eagerly deſirous, according to the common Ambition of great Men, to make himſelf more illuſtrious by Titles and Honours, and much more induced by imagining that the Death of the lawful Prince was neceſſary for his own Security, and the Succeſſion of his Children, had determined to transfer and eſtabliſh the Ducal Power and Name on himſelf. For the Perpetration of this Piece of Villainy, his Ambition muſt have offered Violence to his natural Temper, which was generally mild, and by no means ſanguinary. It was the common Opinion, that he had meditated this Wickedneſs from the Time he invited the *French* into *Italy*; being perſuaded that, whilſt the King was with ſuch a numerous Army in the State of

A. D. 1494.

A. D. 1494. *Milan*, none would dare to ſhew his Reſentment of ſo horrid a Deed. Others thought it a new Project owing to a Fear leſt the King, as the *French* are quick in their Counſels, ſhould proceed in a precipitate Manner to free *Giovanni Galeazzo* from ſo deplorable a Subjection, either moved by Conſanguinity, or Compaſſion for his Age, or thinking it more for his Intereſt that the Dukedom ſhould be governed by his Couſin than by *Lodovico*, whoſe Faith ſeveral great Men about the King were continually endeavouring to render ſuſpected. But *Lodovico* having procured the Inveſtiture the Year before, and taking great Care to have the Imperial Privileges expedited a little before the Death of his Nephew, it ſeemed rather a premeditated and deliberate than a ſudden Act ſpringing from the preſent Danger.

CHARLES reſted ſome Days at *Piacenza*, not without ſome Thoughts of repaſſing the Mountains. The Want of Money, and no new Alteration in the Affairs of *Italy* appearing in his Favour, made him doubtful of Succeſs, to which his

his Suſpicion of the new Duke did not a little contribute; it being rumoured that, though at taking Leave of him he had promiſed to return, it was never his Intention to be ſo good as his Word. Nor is it unlikely that the villainous Practice of Poiſoning, being almoſt unknown to the Nations beyond the Mountains, but frequent in many Parts of *Italy*, *Charles* and all his Court, beſides their Jealouſy of *Lodovico*'s Infidelity, could not hear his Name mentioned without Horror; and that the King thought himſelf very much injured, in that he ſhould have procured his Arrival as a Protection to perpetrate with Impunity ſo deteſtable a Murder. However it was at laſt reſolved to march forwards, *Lodovico* continually preſſing, and promiſing to return to the King in a few Days; for it did not at all anſwer his Purpoſe, that the *French* ſhould remain in *Lombardy*, or return ſuddenly into *France*. A. D. 1494.

LORENZO and *Giovanni de' Medici*, who had ſtole away privately from their Country Houſes, preſented themſelves to the King the Day he left *Piacenza*, and ſollicited

A. D. 1494 ſollicited his Majeſty to approach with his Army to *Florence*, giving him abundant Aſſurances of the Inclinations of the *Florentine* People to the Houſe of *France*, and no leſs of their Hatred to *Piero de' Medici*, againſt whom the King's Anger was not a little increaſed by ſome new Provocations. For his Majeſty had ſent an Ambaſſador from *Aſti* to *Florence* with Propoſals of great Advantages, if they would grant him a Paſſage through their Dominions, and abſtain from aſſiſting *Alfonſo*, with a Multitude of Threatenings if they perſevered in their Reſolution; and to ſtrike a greater Terror, the Ambaſſador was to quit *Florence* abruptly if they did not inſtantly comply. As they were at ſome Loſs to find an Excuſe for their Delay, he was anſwered; That the principal Citizens concerned in the Adminiſtration were at their Country-Houſes, as uſual in that Seaſon, and therefore they could not ſatisfy him on ſo ſudden a Demand; but that by an Ambaſſador, whom they would ſoon ſend on purpoſe, his Majeſty ſhould be acquainted with their Intentions.

A. D. 1494.

IT had been unanimouſly reſolved in the royal Council, that it was more adviſeable to conduct the Army by the Road that leads through *Tuſcany* and the Territory of *Rome* directly to *Naples*, than by that which goes through *Romagna* and the *Marca*, and over the River *Tronto* into the *Abruzzi*; not becauſe they doubted of driving the *Aragonians* before them, who could hardly defend themſelves againſt *Aubigni*, but becauſe it ſeemed beneath the Greatneſs of ſo mighty a King, and the Glory of his Arms, that ſince the *Florentines* and the Pope had declared againſt him, he ſhould give Occaſion to the Public to imagine he avoided that Rout out of Fear that he ſhould not be able to force his Way thro' their Dominions. They had alſo a much better Reaſon for chuſing that Road, which was, the Danger of making War in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and leaving *Tuſcany* and the Eccleſiaſtic State, hoſtile Countries, on their Rear. The Way then through *Tuſcany* was choſen, and it was reſolved to paſs the *Appennines* by the Mountain of *Parma*, and not by the direct Road of *Bologna*.

A. D. 1494. *logna.* This was done to gratify *Lodovico*, who was bent on making himſelf Maſter of *Piſa*, and had adviſed this Rout from their firſt ſetting out from *Aſti*.

THE Van was conducted by Monſeigneur *Gilbert de Mompenſier*, of the *Bourbon* Family, a Prince of the Blood Royal of *France*. The King followed with the Reſt of the Army, and paſſed by *Pontremoli*, a Town belonging to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and ſituated at the Foot of the *Appennine*, on the River *Magra*, which divides the Country of *Genoa*, antiently called *Liguria*, from *Tuſcany*. From *Pontremoli Mompenſier* entered the Country of the *Lunigiana*; Part of which was ſubject to the *Florentines*, ſome Caſtles belonged to the *Genoeſe*, and the reſt to the Marquiſſes *Maleſpina*, who enjoyed their little Dominions, ſome under the Protection of the Dukes of *Milan*, ſome under that of the *Florentines*, and others under that of the *Genoeſe*. Here *Mompenſier* was joined by the *Swiſs* who had ſerved at the Defence of *Genoa*, and the Artillery that was brought by Sea to *Spetie*.

Then

Then approaching *Fivizano*, a Caſtle of the *Florentines*, whither they were conducted by *Gabriello Malaſpina*, Marquis of *Foſdinovo*, a Friend of the *French*, they took it by Storm. The Town was plundered, and all the foreign Soldiers, with many of the Inhabitants, were put to the Sword. This Manner of Fighting was quite new to the *Italians*, and filled them with Amazement and Terror: They had been long accuſtomed to ſee their Wars carried on with Pomp and Magnificence, which gave their Armies rather an Appearance of Shew and Grandeur than of Danger and Blood. A. D. 1494.

THE *Florentines* made their principal Reſiſtance in *Sarzana*, a ſmall City, which they had well fortified, but not provided ſufficiently againſt ſo powerful an Enemy as was neceſſary: For the Commander was not a Man of Note and Authority, nor was the Garriſon numerous, but alſo already ſhamefully diſcouraged and alarmed at the Approach of the *French* Army: Yet it was thought the Town would not be eaſily taken, eſpecially the Cittadel; and much

A. D. 1494. much leſs *Sarzanello*, a Fort well ſupplied, and ſituated on the Mountain above *Sarzana*: For the Army could not ſtay long in that deſolate Country, pent up between the Sea and the Mountains, they had little Proviſions, and the Places were diſtant from whence they might be timely procured. This had an Appearance of diſtreſſing the King's Affairs: For though he might leave *Sarzana* behind, and aſſault *Piſa*, or go to *Lucca*, where the Government, by the Duke of *Milan*'s Intereſt, had privately agreed to receive him, and from thence proceed through another Part of the *Florentine* State; yet *Charles* could not bear the Thoughts of leaving behind him the firſt fortified Town that oppoſed him, and imagined his Reputation would be ſo much diminiſhed, as to encourage a Reſiſtance wherever he came. But by good Fortune, or by Ordination of another and higher Power (if the Imprudence and Faults of Men deſerve ſuch Excuſes) a ſudden Remedy offered itſelf againſt this Impediment; for *Piero de' Medici* had no greater Courage nor Conſtancy in Adverſity, than Moderation and Prudence

Prudence in Proſperity. The *Florentines* A. D. 1494. were every Day more and more apprehenſive of the Miſchiefs ariſing from their Refuſal to comply with the King, not ſo much for the Conſequences of a freſh Edict, by which all their Merchants in general had been baniſhed *France*, as for the Dread they had of the King's Power, which was greatly increaſed ſince he paſſed the *Alps*, and which he had exerciſed with ſo much Cruelty at *Fivizano*. On theſe Conſiderations every one deteſted the Raſhneſs of *Piero de' Medici*, who truſting more to himſelf and the Counſels of raſh and arrogant Miniſters, bold in Times of Peace, but dejected and uſeleſs in Times of Danger, than to thoſe of truſty and experienced Citizens, ever Friends to his Father, had, without any Neceſſity, ſo inconſiderately drawn upon them the Arms of a moſt powerful King of *France*, become more ſo by the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Milan*. They had the greater Reaſon to be alarmed, becauſe *Piero* was quite ignorant of military Affairs; their Capital and State not fortified, and ſo unprovided with Soldiers and Ammunition, that they were in

A. D. 1494. in no Condition to defend themſelves againſt ſo formidable an Enemy. Nor did it appear that any of the *Aragonians*, for whom they had expoſed themſelves to ſo much Danger, were engaged, except the Duke of *Calabria* againſt a ſmall Body of *French* in *Romagna*: That, in conſequence, their abandoned City was left expoſed to the Rage and Vengeance of a Prince, who had taken ſo much Pains not to be under a Neceſſity of doing them Hurt. This Diſpoſition, almoſt univerſal, was heightened by many noble Citizens, who highly diſliked the preſent Government, and could not bear that one Family ſhould aſſume the Power of the whole Republic. Theſe augmenting the Fears of thoſe who were diſpoſed to be fearful, and giving Boldneſs to thoſe who were fond of Alterations, had exaſperated the People to ſuch a Degree, that it was expected the City would ſoon be in a Tumult; to which the People were the more incited by the Pride and immoderate Proceedings of *Piero*, who, in many Inſtances, had departed from the civil and mild Behaviour of his Anceſtors, and was on that account

account, from his Youth, become odious in general to the People. We are well aſſured that *Lorenzo*, his Father, who had ſtudied his Temper, was often known to have complained to his moſt intimate Friends, that he foreſaw the Imprudence and Arrogance of his Son would occaſion the Ruin of his Family. A. D. 1494.

PIERO, then, terrified at the Danger he had before ſo raſhly deſpiſed, and finding himſelf diſappointed of the Succours promiſed him by the Pope and *Alfonſo*, who were grieved for the Loſs of *Oſtia*, and whoſe Thoughts were employed on the Siege of *Nettuno*, and in providing againſt their Fears of the *French* Army, took a precipitate Reſolution to ſeek amongſt his Enemies that Safety he feared was not to be found any longer amongſt his Friends. He had indeed his Father's Example before him; who in the Year 1479, being reduced to great Straits in the War which Pope *Sixtus* and *Ferdinando* were waging againſt the *Florentines*, went to *Naples*, and brought back Peace to his Country, and Safety to himſelf. But it is doubtleſs very danger-

A. D. 1494. ous to follow Examples, if the ſame Reaſons do not correſpond, not only in general but alſo in all particular Circumſtances, if Things are not conducted with equal Judgment, and if, beſides all other Foundations, the ſame Fortune has not its Share in them.

PIERO, having left *Florence* with this Reſolution, had ſoon Notice that the Horſe of *Pagolo Orſini*, and Three Hundred Foot, ſent by the *Florentines* to reinforce the Garriſon of *Sarzana*, had been routed by a Party of the *French*, who had paſſed the *Magra*, and the greater Part of them killed or taken Priſoners. 'Till he could procure a Paſs he ſtopped at *Pietra Santa*, whither the Biſhop of *St. Malo*, and other Courtiers reſorted, and conducted him in Safety to the Army the ſame Day that the King, with the reſt of his Forces, had joined the Van that lay before *Sarzanello*, and battered it, but with little Hopes of taking it.

PIERO, being introduced to the King, was favourably, to all Appearance, though not heartily received by him; but he found Means

Means to mitigate, in a great meaſure, his Indignation, by ſubmitting at once to all his vaſt and unreaſonable Demands. He agreed that the Fortreſſes of *Sarzana*, *Sarzanello*, and *Pietra Santa*, which were the Keys of the *Florentine* Dominions on that Side, with the Citadels of *Piſa* and *Livorno*, Places of great Importance to the State, ſhould be delivered to the King, who, by a Writing under his own Hand, ſhould be obliged to reſtore them, as ſoon as he ſhould be poſſeſſed of the Kingdom of *Naples*. He alſo engaged that the *Florentines* ſhould lend the King Two Hundred Thouſand Ducats, after which they were to be admitted into his Confederacy, and be under his Protection. Theſe Articles, promiſed only by Word of Mouth, were to be drawn up in Writing in *Florence* when *Charles*, as he intended, paſſed thro' that City. But the Conſignment of *Sarzana*, *Sarzanello*, and *Pietra Santa*, was not deferred, but they were immediately by *Piero* put into the King's Hands, as were a few Days after, by his Orders, the Citadels of *Piſa* and *Livorno*. The *French* themſelves were amazed at his eaſy Compliance with

A. D. 1494.

A. D. 1494 Things of ſuch Importance; for the King, without Doubt, would have been content with eaſier Terms.

It may not be improper to relate, here, the Repartee of *Lodovico Sforza*, who came to the Army the Day after *Piero* arrived. *Piero* told him that, out of Reſpect to his Perſon, he had gone out to meet him, but that he had deceived him by miſtaking the Way: *Lodovico* very readily anſwered, "It is certain that one of us miſtook, but perhaps it was you;" reproaching him as it were with having incurred ſo many Diſaſters and Dangers by neglecting his good Counſels: But we ſhall find in the Sequel, that they both miſtook the right Road; but to the greater Shame and Unhappineſs of him, who, ſeated in a higher Station, made Profeſſion of being a Guide to all the reſt by his Prudence. *Piero*'s Compliance not only ſecured *Tuſcany* to the King, but alſo removed all Obſtacles in *Romagna*, where the *Aragonians* were already declining; it being difficult for thoſe who were threatned with imminent Dan-

Danger themſelves to provide at the ſame Time againſt thoſe of others. A. D. 1494.

WHILST *Ferdinando* remained ſecure in the ſtrong Lines of the *Cerca* of *Faenza*, whither he had retired with his Army; the Enemy returned towards *Imola*, after they had tried in vain, with Part of the Army, to poſſeſs themſelves of the Caſtle of *Bubano*; for as it was of a ſmall Circumference, the few in Garriſon were ſufficient to defend it, and the Country about it lying low was all overflowed. They took however by Aſſault the Caſtle of *Mordano*, which was a ſtrong and well garriſoned Fortreſs; but the violent Force of the Artillery, and the Bravery of the *French* in the Attack was ſuch, that tho', in paſſing the Ditches full of Water, ſeveral of them were drowned, yet the Beſieged could not withſtand their Fury, aud they exerciſed indeed ſo much Cruelty in putting to the Sword the Inhabitants of all Ages and Sexes, that they filled all *Romagna* with great Fear and Horror. *Caterina Sforza* was ſo alarmed that, deſpairing of Succours, to avoid the preſent Danger, ſhe capitulated with the *French*, promiſing

A. D. 1494. miſing them all Conveniencies in the States belonging to her Son. Wherefore *Ferdinando* ſuſpecting the Affections of the *Faventines*, and thinking it very dangerous to remain between *Imola* and *Forli*, eſpecially as he was appriſed of *Piero*'s Journey to *Sarzana*, retired under the Walls of *Ceſena*, ſhewing great Marks of Fear in his March: For to avoid paſſing by *Forli*, he conducted the Army a more difficult and round-about Way over Hills, by *Caſtro Caro*, a Fort of the *Florentines*. A few Days after the News came that *Piero* had made a Treaty with the *French*, on which the Troops of that Republic immediately withdrew, and then *Ferdinando* directed his March towards *Rome*.

At the ſame Time Don *Federigo*, leaving *Livorno*, retired with the Fleet towards the Kingdom of *Naples*, where *Alfonſo* began to find it very neceſſary, for the Defence of his own Kingdom, to recall thoſe Forces he had ſent with ſuch great Hopes to attack the Dominions of other Princes: But his Affairs began to take as bad a Turn nearer Home; for he miſcarried

ried in his Enterprize on *Nettuno*, and had brought his Army to *Terracina*, at the ſame Time that the *French* Fleet, commanded by the Prince of *Salerno* and Monſ. de *Serenon*, appeared before *Oſtia*. But they gave out they had no Orders to attack the Pope's Territories, and therefore landed no Men, nor ſeemed to have any Quarrel with the Pope, notwithſtanding that *Charles* a few Days before had refuſed to admit to his Audience Cardinal *Piccoluomini* of *Siena* ſent to him as Legate. A. D. 1494.

WHEN the News of *Picro de' Medici*'s Convention arrived in *Florence*, every Breaſt was fired with high Indignation to ſee the Dominion of the Republic ſo diminiſhed, and its Reputation ſo grievouſly wounded: Beſide their Vexation for ſo great a Loſs, they could not brook that *Piero*, without any Precedent from his Anceſtors, without conſulting the Citizens, and without any Decree or Authority of the Magiſtracy, ſhould have alienated ſo valuable a Part of the *Florentine* Dominions. Nothing but Complaints and Murmurs againſt him were heard from the

A. D. 1494. Citizens, who excited one another to recover their Liberties, whilſt *Piero's* Adherents, ſtruck with Terror, did not dare to take up Arms, or even offer any Thing in his Defence. The Republic was not able to defend *Piſa* and *Livorno*, and tho' they were not confident that they could remove the King from keeping thoſe Fortreſſes, yet, to ſeparate the Counſels of the Government from thoſe of *Piero*, that at leaſt it might not be taken for granted that the Power of the Public was veſted in a private Perſon, they immediately ſent a numerous Ambaſſy to his Majeſty, chuſing the moſt diſaffected to the Grandeur of the *Medici*. *Piero*, well imagining that this was the firſt Step towards a Change of Government, took Leave of the King under a Pretence of ſeeing executed what he had agreed to, but in reality to endeavour with his Preſence to put a Stop to thoſe growing Diſorders.

AT the ſame Time that *Charles* moved from *Sarzana* towards *Piſa*, *Lodovico* returned to *Milan*, having firſt, with a Sum of Money, obtained the Inveſtiture of

Genoa

Genoa for himſelf and Deſcendants, tho' it had been a few Years before granted to *Giovanni Galeazzo* and his Heirs: Notwithſtanding which he departed diſſatisfied, becauſe the King had refuſed, contrary to his former Promiſe, to let him put Garriſons of his own Men into *Pietra Santa* and *Sarzana*, which, as they might facilitate his Acquiſition of *Piſa*, a Project ever in his Thoughts, he pretended did belong to *Genoa*, but had been unjuſtly ſeized by the *Florentines* a few Years before. A. D. 1494.

As ſoon as *Piero* arrived at *Florence*, he found the Minds of moſt of the Magiſtrates exaſperated againſt him, and even a Coldneſs in his beſt Friends; angry, no doubt, that he had ſo imprudently tranſacted Matters of the utmoſt Conſequence contrary to their Advice.

THE Citizens, in general, were highly incenſed, and the next Day, the 9th of *November*, as he was going into the Palace where the ſupreme Magiſtracy reſided, he was ordered by *Jacopo Nerli*, a noble and wealthy Youth, who at the Head of ſome others of the

A. D. 1494. the Magiſtracy ſtood armed at the Gates, not to enter. This Report being ſpread all over the Town, the Populace in an Inſtant took up Arms, and were the more enraged upon hearing that, at *Piero*'s Inſtance, *Pagolo Orſini* was coming with his Men at Arms to his Aſſiſtance. *Piero*, deſtitute of Courage and Counſel, finding he could not get Admittance into the Palace, returned to his own Houſe, where being informed that the Magiſtracy had declared him a Rebel, he flew with the greateſt Precipitation to *Bologna*, whither he was followed by his two Brothers, *Giovanni* the Cardinal, and *Giuliano*, who were alſo attainted.

Giovanni Bentivoglio, who governed *Bologna*, expecting to find in others that Conſtancy of Mind, which he was not afterwards Maſter of himſelf in his Adverſities, at the Sight of *Piero* reproached him bitterly for his Cowardice; upbraiding him alſo with the bad Example he gave to others who had oppreſſed the Liberty of their Country, by retiring ſo ſhamefully, and relinquiſhing ſo much Power and Authority

thority without ſtriking a Blow. Thus, thro' the Raſhneſs of an inconſiderate Youth, the Family of the *Medici* fell for the preſent from an almoſt ſovereign Power, which they had exerciſed in *Florence*, for ſixty Years ſucceſſively; a Power firſt exerciſed, and by Permiſſion, in a manner, of the Republic, by *Coſimo*, *Piero*'s Great Grand-Father, a Citizen of ſingular Prudence, and immenſe Riches; for which he was renowned in all Parts of *Europe*, but more ſo for his Magnificence, Liberality, and truly Royal Soul: For as he had more at Heart the immortalizing his Name, than providing for his Deſcendants, he expended above Four Hundred Thouſand Ducats in building Churches, Monaſteries, and other ſumptuous Edifices, not only in his own Country, but in many other Parts of the World. His Grand-Son *Lorenzo*, a Man of excellent Abilities, and a great Stateſman, was not leſs generous, tho' not ſo rich; and had a more abſolute Power, tho' his Life was of a ſhorter Duration. The *Italians*, in general, and ſeveral foreign Princes, paid a great Regard to the Wiſdom of his Counſels, the

A. D. 1494.

Want

A. D. 1494. Want of which more clearly appeared ſoon after his Death, for with him all Friendſhip and Concord in *Italy* ſeemed to expire.

THE ſame Day the Change of Government was made in *Florence* the *Piſans* in a popular Manner preſented themſelves before the King, and, ſupported by ſome of the Courtiers, who affirmed their Requeſt was juſt, begged his Majeſty to reſtore them to their Liberty, which had been uſurped by the *Florentines*, under whoſe cruel Treatment, and arrogant Dominion they had long groaned. The King, not rightly weighing the Importance of their Petition, but following the Advice of ſome of his Council, anſwered, contrary to his Agreement at *Sarzana*, that they ſhould be ſatisfied. On which the People immediately took up Arms, pulled down from the public Places all the *Florentine* Standards, and very eagerly aſſerted their Liberty. The King, however, inconſiſtent with himſelf, hardly knowing what he had granted, ordered the *Florentine* Magiſtrates to remain, and exerciſe their uſual Juriſdiction,

Juriſdiction, and at the ſame time gave the old Caſtle to the Cuſtody of the *Piſans*, keeping for himſelf the new Citadel of much more Importance. A. D. 1494.

THESE Events at *Florence* and *Piſa* confirm the Proverb, "That Men, when their ill Fate approaches, loſe that Prudence which would have enabled them to prevent their evil Deſtiny." The *Florentines*, always diſtruſtful of the Faith of the *Piſans*, though they had Reaſon to expect this Revolution, did not ſummon, as they uſually did on the leaſt Occaſion, great Numbers of the principal Men of *Piſa* to come to *Florence*; nor did *Piero de' Medici*, in ſo great a Danger, fortify the Market Place and the Palace with foreign Guards, as had been often practiſed on trivial Accidents, which Proviſions would have put an effectual Stop to theſe Changes. But in theſe Affairs of *Piſa*, it is manifeſt that the Authority of *Lodovico*, who had carried on private Intelligence for this Purpoſe with ſome *Piſans* that were baniſhed for their private Miſdemeanors, gave Riſe to this

A. D. 1494. this Revolt of the *Piſans*, who are by Nature very great Enemies of the *Florentine* Name. And the ſame Day *Galeazzo San Severino*, his Miniſter, who accompanied the King, incited the People to this Tumult, which *Lodovico* expected would ſoon reduce that City to his Obedience; little thinking, in how ſhort a Time after, this Revolution would prove the Occaſion of all his Miſeries.

IT is likewiſe well known, that ſome of the *Piſans* communicating the Night before their Intentions to the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*, he, who, perhaps, never before had been the Author of pacific Counſels, very gravely told them, they ought not to be carried away with a ſuperficial Notion at the Beginning of Things, but ſhould maturely weigh what Conſequences they might in Proceſs of Time produce. He obſerved to them that Liberty was precious, and much to be coveted, nay at all Events to be procured, when there was any Appearance of maintaining it: But that *Piſa*, a City depopulated and poor, was not in a Condition to defend

defend itſelf againſt the ſuperior Force of the *Florentines*: That it was a very fallacious Way of reaſoning to promiſe themſelves that the Authority of the *French* King would be ſufficient to preſerve them: For allowing the *Florentine* Money to be leſs prevailing than it was, yet the Articles of *Sarzana* were ſo much in the King's Favour, that he could not continue to aſſiſt them for any Time: Beſides, the *French* were not always to be in *Italy*, and if from paſt Events we may form Conjectures of the future, it would be very imprudent to hazard being expoſed to continual Dangers, without a Proſpect of continual Reſources to oppoſe them, and with uncertain Hopes to enter into a certain War with a more powerful Neighbour, without being able to aſſure themſelves of any real Succours; becauſe they depended on the Will of others, and, what is more, upon many various Accidents to which human Affairs are liable: And ſhould they even obtain them, this would not avert, but rather increaſe the Calamities of a War; for they would be then annoyed by the Soldiers of the Enemy, and

A. D. 1494.

A. D. 1494. and burthened by thoſe of their Friends; for theſe laſt would conſider, that they did not fight for their own, but for the Empire of another; the Conſequence of which muſt be, that they would only change one Slavery for another: For no Prince would chuſe to be at the Trouble and Expence of a War, which, on account of the Riches and Vicinity of the *Florentines*, who, whilſt they had any Spirit left, would never ceaſe to moleſt them, could not be carried on without vaſt Difficulty. During this Confuſion, *Charles* departed from *Piſa* towards *Florence*, not well determined in himſelf how to act with the *Piſans*. He halted at *Signa*, Seven Miles from *Florence*, to give Time for allaying the Tumults in that City, where the People had not laid down their Arms ſince the Expuiſion of *Piero de' Medici*; and that he might be joined by *Aubigni*, for whom he had ſent, in order to make his Entry into *Florence* with the greater Terror; and had ordered him to leave behind the Artillery at *Caſtro Caro*, to diſmiſs the Five Hundred *Italian* Men at Arms, which were

were in his Pay in *Romagna*, and alſo thoſe of the Duke of *Milan*; ſo that of *Sforza*'s Men the King was accompanied only by Count *Gajazzo*, and Three Hundred Light Horſe. A. D. 1494.

By many Indications it was conjectured, that the King's Intention was to induce the *Florentines* by the Terror of his Arms to yield him the abſolute Dominion of their City; nor could he ſufficiently diſguiſe this Deſign to their Ambaſſadors, who ſeveral times made their Application to him at *Signa* to ſettle the Manner of his Entry, and put the finiſhing Hand to the Treaty in Agitation. *Charles* was, no doubt, greatly irritated againſt the *Florentines;* and highly reſented the Oppoſition made, though it was plain the Republic had no Hand in it, and the City had been very ſollicitous to vindicate itſelf againſt the Charge: But their Juſtification was not admitted, becauſe his Miniſters, as was imagined, thought it would be an Error in Politics to loſe the Opportunity of ſeizing on ſo important a Town; whilſt others, moved by Avarice, expecting to

A. D. 1494. enrich themſelves with the Plunder, fomented the King's Indignation. And the whole Army was clamorous, and eager to have them puniſhed as an Example to others for being the firſt in *Italy* who had preſumed to reſiſt the Power of *France*. There were not alſo wanting ſeveral of the chief Men in his Council, who perſuaded him to reſtore *Piero de' Medici*, particularly Monſ. *Breſcia*, Brother to the Duke of *Savoy*, who was induced by private Tyes of Friendſhip and Promiſes; ſo that the King, either moved by the Perſuaſions of thoſe Counſellors, in Oppoſition to the Biſhop of *St. Malo*, or hoping to terrify the *Florentines* into a Compliance with his Will, or that he might have the fairer Opportunity of taking what Part he thought fit on any ſudden Emergency, wrote a Letter to *Piero*, and ordered Monſ. *Filippo* to write him another, inviting him to come into the Neighbourhood of *Florence*, where, in conſideration of the good Diſpoſition he had ſhewn in delivering up the Forts, and of the Friendſhip which had ſubſiſted betwixt their Fathers, it had been reſolved to reinſtate him

him in his Authority. The Letters did not find him at *Bologna*, as the King had imagined; for *Piero*, affronted at the rough Speeches of *Bentivoglio*, and apprehenſive of being purſued by the Duke of *Milan*, and, perhaps, by the King of *France*, attended by his ill Fate, was departed for *Venice*, whither the Letters were forwarded by the Cardinal his Brother, who had ſtaid at *Bologna*. A. D. 1494.

In *Florence* they were very jealous of the King's Intentions; but as they found themſelves without Forces, or Hopes to make an Oppoſition, it was thought adviſeable, as leſs dangerous, to admit him into the Town, hoping by ſome means or other to appeaſe him. To be prepared, however, againſt all Events, they ordered many of the Citizens to fill their Houſes privately with Country People of the *Florentine* Dominions, and, diſſembling the Reaſon, commanded the General Officers in their Pay to come into *Florence* with a good Number of their Soldiers, and all their Subjects, both in Town and Neighbourhood, to be alert and ready to take up

A. D. 1494. Arms at the Toll of the great Bell of the public Palace.

THE King made his Entry in great Pomp, at the Head of his Army, on Horſeback, the *French* and the *Florentines* vying with each other in Magnificence. His Majeſty appeared like a Conqueror; his Horſe as well as himſelf in Armour, with his erected Lance reſting on his Thigh. A Treaty was immediately ſet on Foot, but attended with many Difficulties: For beſides the immoderate Regard profeſſed by many of the King's Followers to *Piero de' Medici*, and the exorbitant Demands of Money, *Charles* openly required the Dominion of *Florence*; alledging that, by coming in that armed Manner, he had gained it lawfully according to the Rules of War practiſed by the *French*. At laſt he receded from this Point, but yet inſiſted upon leaving behind him Deputies of the long Robe, a Name given in *France* to Doctors and gowned Men. By this Means, according to the *French* Inſtitution, he might have pretended to be inveſted with a perpetual

petual Kind of Juriſdiction. On the contrary, the *Florentines* were moſt obſtinately bent to preſerve their Liberty entire in ſpite of all Dangers. In treating with ſuch different Views and Intereſts, the Spirits of each Party became more and more heated and irritated, yet neither of them ſhewed any Inclination to decide the Controverſy by the Sword. For the *Florentine* People, who had Time out of Mind applied themſelves to mercantile Affairs, and knew little of military Exerciſes, and had within their Walls a very powerful King with ſo great an Army, compoſed of ſtrange and fierce Nations, ſtood in vaſt Awe and Dread. On the other hand, the *French* were under no ſmall Apprehenſions of a very numerous People, who had ſhewn greater Signs of deſperate Boldneſs on the Day that the Government was changed than could have been imagined: Beſides, it was rumoured, that at the Toll of the great Bell an innumerable Multitude of Men was to pour in upon them from all the circumjacent Country; and the mutual Fear in which they ſtood one of another being augmented A. D. 1494.

A. D. 1494. by falſe Reports, each Side tumultuouſly ran to Arms, but never came to Blows nor gave any Provocation.

THE King's Scheme concerning *Piero de' Medici* did not ſucceed: For *Piero*, divided betwixt the Hopes of being reſtored, and Fear of being delivered up to his Adverſaries, produced his Letters to the *Venetian* Senate, deſiring their Advice. Nothing certainly is more neceſſary, and at the ſame Time more dangerous in weighty and momentous Reflections, than to aſk Advice; not is it to be doubted but that Counſel is leſs neceſſary to the Prudent than to the Imprudent; and yet that the Wiſe reap very conſiderable Advantage from Advice. For where is the Man of ſuch conſummate Prudence, as always to conſider and underſtand every thing of himſelf, and amidſt a Contrariety of Reaſons to diſcern always the beſt? Again, what Aſſurance has he who demands Counſel of being faithfully adviſed? For he who gives Counſel, if he be not very faithful or affectionate to the Perſon who conſults him, will be induced not only on every intereſt-

ing

ing Occaſion, but by every ſmall Advantage, for every ſlight Satisfaction, frequently to direct his Advice to the End which beſt anſwers his Purpoſe, or ſuits his Temper; and thoſe Motives being oftentimes unknown to him who wants Advice, it requires a good Share of Prudence to diſcover the Perfidiouſneſs of ſuch Counſel. This was the Caſe of *Piero de' Medici*, for the *Venetians* apprehending that his Return would facilitate the King's Deſigns to reduce the Affairs of the *Florentines* to his own Management, which, for their own Intereſt, would be extremely diſagreeable to them, and conſulting themſelves rather than *Piero*, effectually perſuaded him not to truſt his Perſon in the Power of the King, who thought himſelf injured by him. And to work upon him the more effectually to follow their Advice, they offered to take the Charge of his Affairs, and to lend him, when the Times would permit, their Aſſiſtance for reſtoring him to his Country. And not content with this, if it be true what was afterwards reported, they very ſecretly placed a Guard A. D. 1494

A. D. 1494. upon him, to prevent his leaving *Venice* at that Juncture.

BUT in the mean Time the Animoſities in *Florence* increaſed on all Sides, and were almoſt come to an open Rupture: The King would not recede from his laſt Demands, and the Republic was reſolved not to give the intolerable Sums he required, nor conſent to allow him any Sort of Juriſdiction or Pre-eminence in their State.

THESE Difficulties, thought unſurmountable without the Force of Arms, were at laſt removed by the Courage and Reſolution of *Piero Capponi*, one of the Citizens appointed to treat with the King; a Man of great Spirit, and highly eſteemed in *Florence* on account of theſe Qualifications, and becauſe he was by Birth of an honourable Family and deſcended from Perſons who had born a conſiderable Sway in the Republic. *Capponi* and his Colleagues being one Day in the King's Preſence, while one of the royal Secretaries was reading over the immoderate Articles which

which were propoſed as the ultimate Pro- A. D. 1494.
poſitions on the King's Part, he fell in a Paſſion, and violently ſnatching the Paper out of the Secretary's Hand, tore it to Pieces before the King's Face; adding in a high Tone of Voice, "Since you demand ſuch diſhonourable Conditions, ſound your Trumpets, and we will ſound our Bells:" By which he intended as much as if he had ſaid in plain Words, "Let the Differences be decided by Arms." With this Speech, and with the ſame Air of Indignation, followed by his Colleagues, he abruptly left the Room. Certain it is, that theſe Words, from the Mouth of a Citizen known to *Charles* and the whole Court, for but a few Months before he had been the *Florentine* Ambaſſador in *France*, ſtruck them all with ſuch Aſtoniſhment, eſpecially as they did not believe that he durſt be ſo bold without a Cauſe, that they called him back, and deſiſting from thoſe Demands which had been refuſed, an Agreement was made between the King and the *Florentines*, to the following Purport: That, all paſt Offences being forgiven, the City of *Florence* ſhould be regarded

A. D. 1494. garded as a Friend and Confederate, and receive perpetual Protection of the Crown of *France*: That the King for his Security ſhould keep in his Hands the City of *Piſa*, and the Town of *Livorno*, with all their Forts, but be obliged to reſtore them without any Expence to the *Florentines*, as ſoon as he ſhould have *finiſhed* his Enterprize on the Kingdom of *Naples*; which was underſtood to be *finiſhed*, whenever the King ſhould have reduced the City of *Naples*, or made a Compoſition by a Peace, or by a Truce for at leaſt two Years, or ſhould, for any other Reaſon, withdraw his Perſon out of *Italy*: That the Governors ſhould at preſent take an Oath to reſtore the ſaid Places, on any one of the above-mentioned Events; and that in the mean Time, the Dominion, Juriſdiction, Government, and Revenues of the ſaid Towns ſhould belong to the *Florentines* as before; The ſame Conditions to be obſerved with regard to *Pietra Santa*, *Sarzana*, and *Sarzanello*; but as to the Pretenſions of the *Genoeſe* on thoſe Places, it ſhould be left to the King to procure a Deciſion of their Differences either by Agreement or by Juſtice,

Juſtice, but if they were not terminated by him within the above-mentioned Time, he ſhould reſtore them to the *Florentines*: That the King might leave in *Florence* two Ambaſſadors without whoſe Intervention nothing ſhould come under Debate concerning the ſaid Enterprize while it laſted, nor ſhould the Republic have any Power to chuſe a Captain-General of their own Troops, within the ſaid Term, without his Participation. That all the other Towns which had been taken, or had rebelled, ſhould immediately be reſtored to the *Florentines*, who were permitted to recover them by Force of Arms, if they ſhould refuſe to receive them: That within fifteen Days they ſhould preſent the King with a Subſidy of 50,000 Ducats towards his Expedition, 40,000 more in *March*, and 30,000 in *June*: That the Rebellion of the *Piſans*, and all other Offences committed ſince, ſhould be pardoned: That *Piero de' Medici*, and his two Brothers ſhould have their Attainder reverſed, and their Effects reſtored, on condition that *Piero* ſhould not approach within a Hundred Miles of the Borders of the Republic, (this

A. D. 1494.

A. D. 1494. (this was designed to prevent his settling in *Rome*) nor his Brothers within a Hundred of the City of *Florence*. These were the principal Articles of the Convention between the King and the *Florentines*, which, after Stipulation according to Form of Law, were published with great Ceremony in the Cathedral in Time of Divine Service, where the King, at whose Instance this was done, and the Magistrates of the City, prostrated before the high Altar, solemnly swore to observe them, in the Presence of the Court and all the People of *Florence*.

Two Days after *Charles* left *Florence*, where he had stayed ten Days, and proceeded to *Siena*. This City was in Confederacy with the King of *Naples*, and the *Florentines*, and had submitted to their Authority till the Journey of *Piero* to *Sarzana* obliged the Citizens to consult their own Safety amongst themselves. The City of *Siena* is populous, has a fertile Territory, and, next to *Florence*, had long obtained the Name of the most powerful State in *Tuscany*: It was governed by its own Magistrates, but in such a Manner, that the Citizens

Citizens were rather amuſed and pleaſed with the Name of Liberty, than enjoyed the Effects of it: For the People, divided into a Multitude of Factions or Bodies, by them called Orders, ſubmitted to that Party which, according to the Events of the Times, or by Favour of foreign Potentates, was moſt powerful. At this Time the Order of the *Monte del Nove* was uppermoſt. A. D. 1494.

CHARLES, after ſtaying a very few Days at *Siena*, left a Garriſon, becauſe that City was known in antient Times to be devoted to the Empire, and therefore ſuſpected. He then directed his March towards *Rome*, growing every Day more and more inſolent from his Succeſſes, hitherto far beyond Expectation: As the Seaſon was fair and favourable more than uſual for the Time of the Year, he determined, without loſs of Time, to purſue his good Fortune: He was now become terrible not only to his avowed Enemies, but alſo to his Allies, as well as to thoſe who had given him no Sort of Provocation. For both the *Venetian* Senate, and the Duke

A. D. 1494. Duke of *Milan*, aſtoniſhed at this Rapidity, imagined, eſpecially, by the King's taking Poſſeſſion of the *Florentine* Caſtles, and leaving a Guard in *Siena*, that his Thoughts did not terminate in the Acquiſition of *Naples*: Therefore, to obviate the common Danger, they began to treat among themſelves of a new Confederacy, which they would ſooner have brought to Perfection, if, as many had expected, *Charles* had met with a greater Reſiſtance at *Rome*.

It had been ſettled, that the Duke of *Calabria*, who was join'd by the Pope's Troops in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and by *Virginio Orſini* with the Remainder of the *Aragonian* Army, ſhould make a Stand at *Viterbo*, to prevent the King from advancing; which Place was very proper for that Purpoſe, beſides other Reaſons becauſe it was ſurrounded by the Pope's Territories, and lay near the States of the *Orſini*. But all the Country about *Rome* being in Confuſion by the Excurſions of the *Colonnas* from the other Side the *Tyber*, and the Impediments which from *Oſtia* were laid on Convoys

the Convoys of Proviſions which were uſed to be brought by Sea to *Rome*, the Duke had not Reſolution enough to wait at *Viterbo*: Beſides he doubted very much of the Pope's Intentions; for ever ſince the Revolution of *Piero de' Medici*'s Affairs, he had begun to liſten to *French* Propoſals, which were brought him by Cardinal *Aſcanio*, who, before he would venture to come to *Rome*, inſiſted on the Pope's ſending to *Marino*, a Town of the *Colonnas*, his Son the Cardinal of *Valenza*, as a Pledge for his Security. *Aſcanio* left *Rome* without bringing *Alexander* to any Determination: For he was divided between a Diffidence of the King's real Intentions towards him, and the Fear of his Forces: Yet as ſoon as *Charles* was ſet out from *Florence*, he had begun again to treat of an Agreement, and ſent to him the Biſhops of *Concordia* and *Terni*, and Doctor *Grationo* his Confeſſor, with Inſtructions to agree at the ſame Time for himſelf and for *Alfonſo*. But the King's Intention was different, for he was determined to agree only with the Pope, and therefore, changing his Mind, ſent to him Monſ. *de la Tremouille*, and the Preſident *Gannay*. *A. D.* 1494.

A. D. 1494. *Gannay*. Cardinals *Aſcanio*, and *Proſpero Colonna* came to *Rome* on this Occaſion: But the Pope, immediately on their Arrival, whatever might be the Cauſe, ſent for the Duke of *Calabria* to come into *Rome* with his whole Army, and ordered them immediately to be arreſted, and conveyed to the Mole of *Adrian*, formerly called Caſtle *Creſcentio*, now Caſtle *Sant' Angelo*, demanding of them the Reſtitution of *Oſtia*. During theſe Tumults the *Aragonians* ſecured the *French* Ambaſſadors: But they were immediately releaſed by the Pope's Commands, as were alſo in a few Days *Aſcanio* and *Proſpero*, but with an Injunction to quit *Rome* that Inſtant. He then ſent to the King, who had halted at *Nepi*, Cardinal *San Severino*, with a Commiſſion to treat of his own particular Affairs, yet with a very irreſolute Mind; ſometimes he reſolved to ſtay in *Rome* and defend himſelf, and then was pleaſed to ſee *Ferdinando* and the Generals fortify the weakeſt Places; at others, judging that Meaſure impracticable on account of the Want of Proviſions, which were intercepted by the Garriſon of *Oſtia*, the

the incredible Number of Strangers, unſettled in their Opinions, and the various Factions amongſt the *Romans*, he inclined to abandon that City, and obliged all the Cardinals to give it under their Hands to follow him: Then, alarmed at the Difficulties and imminent Dangers, he would ſhrink from his laſt Reſolution, and again embrace a Scheme of Compoſition. A. D. 1494.

BUT whilſt he was in this Uncertainty, the *French* made Excurſions on this Side the *Tiber* all over the Country, ſeizing ſometimes on one Village, ſometimes on another; and their Progreſs was ſo rapid, that none of thoſe little Places offered to make any Reſiſtance, but all gave way to their Violence, and their Example was followed by others, who had very good Reaſons for oppoſing them. Even *Virginio* himſelf, though bound by ſo many Ties of Faith, Obligations and Honours to the Houſe of *Aragon*, being Captain-General of the royal Army, Great Conſtable of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and allied to *Alfonſo* by a very near Affinity, his Son, *Gian Giordano*, being married to a

A. D. 1494. natural Daughter of the late King *Ferdinando*, and who had received of them States in their Kingdom, and ſo many Benefactions, yet, forgetting all theſe Favours, and that the Calamities of the *Aragonians* owed their firſt Riſe to the eſpouſing his Intereſt, thought it no Crime, if he remained himſelf in the Service of the King of *Naples*, to permit his Children to agree with the King of *France*. This was a ſurpriſing Step, and which amazed the *French*, who were not accuſtomed to the ſubtle Diſtinctions of the *Italian* Soldiery.

Charles agrees with the Orſini. It was ſtipulated, that the King's Troops ſhould be received, victualled, and have a free Paſſage through *Virginio*'s Dominions that were in the Pope's Territories: And to depoſite *Campagnano* with ſome other Villages in the Hands of Cardinal *de Gurce*, who promiſed to reſtore them, as ſoon as the Army ſhould leave the *Roman* Territory: And Count *Pitigliano*, with others of the *Orſini* Family, came into the ſame Agreement.

As ſoon as theſe Conditions were ſigned, *Charles* quitted *Nepi*, and removed to *Bracciano*,

ciano, the principal Town in *Virginio*'s Juriſdiction; and though the Seaſon was unfavourable, and the Difficulties were increaſed, he diſpatched Monſ. *de Ligni* and *Ives d'Alegre*, with Five Hundred Lances, and Two Thouſand *Swiſs* to *Oſtia*, with Orders to paſs the *Tiber*, join the *Colonnas*, who ſcoured all the Country, and force their Way into *Rome*; which they had good Reaſon to hope they might compaſs, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Romans* of their own Faction. By this Time *Civita Vecchia*, *Corneto*, and at laſt all the *Roman* Territory was reduced to the Devotion of the *French*, which ſo alarmed the *Romans*, that all the Court, and all the *Roman* People cried out eagerly for an Accommodation.

A. D. 1494. Progreſs of the *French*.

THE Pope, therefore, having brought his Affairs to a very dangerous Criſis, and finding every Day leſs Probability of making an effectual Defence, would have willingly ſubmitted; but then, conſidering he had been one of the firſt who incited the King to undertake this Expedition, and afterwards, without any Provocation, had

A. D. 1494. employed his Authority, Counſel and Arms to make an obſtinate Reſiſtance, he reaſonably concluded, that the King would no more keep his Word with him, than he himſelf had kept his with the King. His Terror was increaſed on obſerving that the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*, and many other Cardinals his Enemies, were in high Authority with *Charles*, at whoſe Perſuaſion, and in regard to his Name of *Moſt Chriſtian*, together with the known Steadineſs of the *French* in religious Engagements, and from the Expectations which are always greater from thoſe who are known to us only by Name, he feared *Charles* would attempt to reform the Abuſes in the Church, as was then the common Subject of Diſcourſe. This Thought was above all Things terrible to *Alexander*, when he recollected in what an infamous Manner he had mounted the Throne, and how he had continued to exerciſe his Function by Manners and Arts entirely anſwerable to ſo deteſtable a Beginning. However, his Suſpicions were ſomewhat abated by the Diligence and efficacious Promiſes of the King, who, above

Pope embarraſſed.

above all Things desirous to hasten his March to *Naples*, was willing to remove all Difficulties that the Pope might give him, and therefore sent anew three Ambassadors, the Seneschal of *Beaucaire*, the Marshal *de Gié*, and the President *Gannay*. They endeavoured to persuade his Holiness, that it was not the King's Intention to interest himself in what concerned the Pontifical Power; but being desirous of entering *Rome*, demanded nothing more than what was necessary for his Security of passing forwards, and made Instances that he would freely consent to the King's Entrance into *Rome*, which he had much at Heart, not because it was not in his Power to effect it by Force, but because he might not lie under a Necessity of failing in the due Respect which his Ancestors had ever paid to the Dignity of the *Roman* Pontiffs: That immediately upon the King's Entrance he would find all their Differences converted into the most sincere Love and Friendship. A. D. 1494.

ALEXANDER was greatly troubled at these Demands, to comply with which

A. D. 1494. was, in reality, to deprive himſelf at once of the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, and put himſelf entirely in the Power of an Enemy, by receiving him into *Rome* before he had ſettled his Affairs with him: Yet, at laſt, finding that of all the Dangers the conſenting to theſe Demands was the leaſt, he ordered the Duke of *Calabria* and his Army to quit *Rome*, having firſt obtained a Paſs from the King of *France*, that he might retire with Safety out of the Eccleſiaſtical State. But *Ferdinando*, with Contempt refuſing the Paſs, marched through the Gate of *San Sebaſtian* the laſt Day of the Year, 1494, at the ſame Inſtant of Time that the *French* Army entered the Gate *del Popolo*, with the King at their Head, armed, with his Lance on his Thigh, in the ſame Manner that he entered *Florence*.

French enter Rome.

1495. THE Pope, full of Anxiety and Fear, had retired into *Caſtel Sant' Angelo*, accompanied by none of the Cardinals except *Battiſta Orſini*, *Ulivieri*, and *Caraffa*, a *Neapolitan*. But the Cardinals *del Vincola*, *Aſcanio*, thoſe of the *Colonna* Family, and

and *Savelli*, with many others, reſorted to the King, and preſſed him to move from the Pontifical See a Pope loaded with ſuch Vices as rendered him odious and deteſtable to the whole World, and to procure another Election. They repreſented that it would not be leſs glorious for him to free the Church of God from the Tyranny of a wicked Pope, than it was for *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*, his Anceſtors, to free the Popes of holy Life from the Perſecution of their unjuſt Oppreſſors. They laboured to convince him, that this was not leſs neceſſary for his own Safety than deſireable for his Glory. For how could he ever truſt to the Promiſes of *Alexander*, a Man by Nature fraudulent, inſatiable in his ambitious Deſires, ſhameleſs in all his Actions, and, as Experience taught, bearing an implacable Hatred to the *French*; and that his Reconciliation at this Juncture was not voluntary, but extorted by Neceſſity and Fear. The King, induced by theſe Arguments, as alſo becauſe the Pope, amongſt other Conditions, refuſed to deliver up *Caſtel Sant' Angelo*, which was demanded as a Pledge for the

A. D. 1495.

Cardinals ſollicit the Degradation of the Pope.

A. D. 1495. Performance of his Promiſes, twice gave Orders for the Artillery to be brought from the Palace of *San Marco*, where he lodged, and planted againſt the ſaid Caſtle. But *Charles* was not inclined by Nature to offend the Pope; wherefore thoſe had the greateſt Sway in his Privy Council who had been corrupted by Gifts and Promiſes into *Alexander*'s Intereſt, and at laſt a Treaty was concluded on theſe Conditions:

Articles between the Pope and the King of *France*.

THAT there ſhould be a perpetual Amity and Confederacy between the Pope and the King for their mutual Defence: That for his Security the Caſtles of *Civita Vecchia*, *Terracina*, and *Spoleti* (though this laſt was never given up) ſhould be conſigned to him, but reſtored on the Reduction of *Naples*: That *Alexander* ſhould bury in Oblivion all Injuries received from thoſe Cardinals and Barons who were Subjects of the Church, give him the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and deliver to him *Gemin* the *Ottoman*. It is, it ſeems, a cruel Cuſtom among the *Turks* for a new Sovereign to eſtabliſh his Empire with the Blood of his Brothers or neareſt Relations.

Wherefore

Wherefore *Gemin*, after the Death of his Father *Mahomet*, to avoid the cruel Perſecution of his Brother *Bajazet*, who wanted to deſtroy him, had retired to *Rhodes*, from whence he was ſent into *France*, and at laſt put into the Power of Pope *Innocent**. *Bajazet*, taking the Advantage of the Avarice of the Popes, in order to keep his Empire in Peace with the Chriſtian Powers, paid annually to *Alexander*, under the Pretext of Alimony, and Charges of guarding him, Forty Thouſand Ducats, as an Inducement not to ſet him at Liberty, or deliver him up to other Princes that might be his Adverſaries. *Charles*'s Drift in demanding *Gemin* was to facilitate his Undertaking againſt the *Turks*, which, elated with vain Adulation, he had reſolved on, as ſoon as he ſhould have brought the *Neapolitans* under his Obedience. The King's Officers had ſeized in *Romagna* the laſt Forty Thouſand Ducats, remitted by *Bajazet*, which were in the Hands of the Prefect of *Rome* at *Senigaglia*: The King now

A. D. 1495.

* *Gemin* fled to *Rhodes* for Shelter, but *Pierre Dubuiſſon*, the Grand-Maſter, on his Arrival, put him in Priſon, and afterwards ſent him well guarded into *Provence*, from whence he was carried to *Rome*.

A. D. 1495. now inſiſted that no Reſtitution ſhould be required, or Cenſures inflicted on account of that Affair. By the laſt Article it was ſtipulated, that the Cardinal of *Valenza* ſhould follow the King, as Apoſtolical Legate, for three Months; the Deſign of which was, that he ſhould remain as an Hoſtage for the Performance of his Father's Engagements.

THIS Agreement being ſigned, the Pope returned to the Pontifical Palace of the *Vatican*, and with the Pomp and Ceremonies, uſual on ſuch ſolemn Occaſions, for the Reception of great Kings, he received the King in *St. Peter*'s Church, where, firſt on his Knees, according to ancient Cuſtom, he kiſſed his Holineſs's Feet, and then his Face. Another Day he aſſiſted at the Pontifical Maſs, and took his Place, which was after the firſt Cardinal Biſhop, and, according to the antient Rites, ſerved the Water when the Pope waſhed his Hands. *Alexander*, to perpetuate the Memory of this Action, had it painted in a Gallery of *Caſtel Sant' Angelo*. He alſo, at the King's Requeſt, created Cardinals the Biſhops

Pope's Reception of the King of *France*.

Biſhops of *St. Malo*, and *Mans*, the laſt a Prelate of the *Luxembourg* Family, and gave him all the Demonſtrations of a ſincere and faithful Reconciliation. *A. D.* 1495.

CHARLES ſtaid in *Rome* about a Month, all the while ſending Troops to the Borders of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which was full of Combuſtions: Before he left *Rome*, *Aquila* and the greateſt Part of the *Abruzzi* had declared for him, and ſet up his Standard, and *Fabritio Colonna* had ſeized on the Diſtricts of *Albi* and *Tagliacozzo*. Nor were there leſs Diſturbances in other Parts of the Kingdom: For as ſoon as *Ferdinando* had quitted *Rome*, the Effects of the People's Hatred to *Alfonſo* began to appear: The bad Uſage they had ſo lately received from old *Ferdinando* was freſh in their Memory; They exclaimed vehemently againſt the tyrannical Oppreſſion they had ſuffered under the late Kings, and of the Cruelty and Pride of *Alfonſo*: They openly teſtified their Joy for the Arrival of the *French*; ſo that the Reliques of the old *Anjouin* Faction, tho' joined to the Memory of the Im- Kingdom of *Naples* revolts.

A. D. 1495. Impriſonment and Baniſhment of ſo many Barons at various Times by *Ferdinando*, a Conduct ever a powerful Inducement to effect Alterations in Governments, yet they were nothing in Compariſon with other Cauſes; ſo ardent was the Diſpoſition of all the People againſt *Alfonſo* without other Motives.

Alfonſo in a Conſternation. As ſoon as the News of *Ferdinando*'s quitting *Rome* reached *Naples*, *Alfonſo* was ſeized with ſuch a Panic, that, forgetful of the great Fame and Glory acquired by his long Experience in the Wars of *Italy*, and deſpairing to weather ſo great a Storm, he at once reſolved to abandon his Kingdom, and renounce his Title and Authority, in favour of *Ferdinando*. He had, perhaps, ſome Hopes that himſelf, who was ſo odious, being removed, and his Son, a young Prince of great Expectation, become King; a Prince, who for his Goodneſs was no ways obnoxious, but rather loved by the People, ſuch a Change might allay the great Eagerneſs of revolting to the *French*; a Meaſure which if anticipated might have pro-

produced ſome Effect, but being deferred to a Time in which Affairs were not only in a vehement Commotion, but on the Brink of Deſolation, was no longer ſufficient to prevent ſo great a Ruin. A. D. 1495.

A REPORT prevailed, (if we may give any Credit to ſuch Reports without the Imputation of Superſtition) that the Ghoſt of old *Ferdinando* appeared three different Nights to *Jacopo*, chief Surgeon to the Court, and firſt with mild Words, but afterwards with many Threats, ordered him to go to *Alfonſo*, and tell him in his Name to relinquiſh all Hopes of reſiſting the *French*, it being decreed that his Progeny, after experiencing Misfortunes innumerable and various, ſhould at laſt be ſtript of ſo famous a Kingdom, and the Family extinguiſhed: That the only Cauſe was their numberleſs Enormities, eſpecially that aggravated Barbarity which at *Alfonſo*'s Inſtigation he had committed near *Naples*, in the Church of *San Leonardo in Chiaia*, when he returned from *Pozzuolo*; As no other Particulars were mentioned, it

was

A. D. 1495. was conjectured that *Alfonſo* had privately perſuaded him to put to Death in that Place ſeveral Barons, who had been detained a long Time in Priſon. But be that as it will, certain it is, *Alfonſo*, tormented both Day and Night with Remorſes of Conſcience, could get no Reſt, the Ghoſts of theſe murdered Barons repreſenting themſelves to him in his Sleep, with the People in a Tumult, ready to take Vengeance. Almoſt diſtracted with theſe Reflections, he reſolved at once to quit his Kingdom; imparting the Secret only to the Queen, his Mother-in-law, who could not prevail with him to wait a few Days. In vain ſhe preſſed him to conſult his Brother and his Son; he was obſtinate, and went on board one of the four light Gallies which he had loaded with Treaſure a few Days before he had compleated the firſt Year of his Reign: But he ſhewed in parting as much Fear, as if he had been ſurrounded by the *French*, and ſtarting at the leaſt Noiſe, as tho' Heaven and the Elements had conſpired in League againſt him, he fled to *Mazara*, a Town in *Sicily*, given

Alfonſo abdicates his Kingdom.

given him ſome Time before by *Ferdinando* King of *Spain*. A. D. 1495.

THE King of *France*, in ſetting out from *Rome*, received the News of this Flight: When he came to *Velletri*, Cardinal *Valenza* eloped from him, and tho' the Pope put on an Air of Reſentment, and offered any Satisfaction, yet it was thought he eſcaped by his Direction, that he might have it in his Power to perform or not his late Agreement. From *Velletri* the Van marched to *Monte Fortino*, a Village in the Campaign of *Rome*, and ſubject to *Jacopo Conti*, a *Roman* Baron, who firſt followed *Charles*, but afterwards, out of Hatred to the *Colonnas*, guided more by Paſſion than Honour, went into *Alfonſo*'s Service. This Place, tho' ſtrongly ſituated, was by the Force of the Artillery taken in a few Hours, and all the Inhabitants put to the Sword, except three of *Jacopo*'s Children, and a few more, who got into the Citadel, but at the Sight of the Artillery planted againſt it delivered themſelves up Priſoners. The Army afterwards proceeded to *Monte San Giovanni*, that belonged *Charles* ſets out from *Rome*

A. D. 1495. longed to the Marquis of *Peſcara*, ſeated on the Borders of the Kingdom of *Naples*, in the ſame Campaign, a Place by Situation ſtrong, well fortified, and provided with a numerous Garriſon: For there were Three Hundred foreign Foot, and Five Hundred of the Inhabitants determined to defend themſelves to the laſt, which made People imagine the *French* would be detained here for ſome Days. But after firing the Cannon for a few Hours, they gave the Aſſault in the King's Preſence, who was come thither from *Veruli*, with ſo much Bravery, that they overcame all Difficulties, and took it by Storm the ſame Day, and prompted by their own natural Fury, and alſo to ſet an Example to others not to make any Oppoſition, made a vaſt Slaughter, and, after perpetrating all Sorts of Barbarities, they exerciſed their Cruelties againſt the Edifices by ſetting them on Fire. This Manner of making War not having been practiſed in *Italy* for many Ages, filled the whole Kingdom with vaſt Conſternation. For hitherto after a Victory, in what Manner ſoever gained, the Cruelty of the Conquerors

querors proceeded no farther than to ſtrip the Soldiers, and then ſet them at Liberty, to plunder the Places taken by Aſſault, and make the Inhabitants Priſoners till they had paid what Contribution was demanded; but the Lives of thoſe were always ſpared who were not killed in the Heat of the Battle. This was all the Oppoſition and Trouble the King of *France* met with in the Conqueſt of ſo noble and fine a Kingdom, in the Defence of which there was not the leaſt Appearance of Virtue, Courage, Conduct, Thirſt of Honour, Strength or Fidelity. The Duke of *Calabria*, who after leaving *Rome* was retired from the Frontiers of the Kingdom, and after his Father's Flight had been invited to *Naples*, where he aſſumed the Authority and Royal Title with the uſual Solemnity, tho' not with the uſual Pomp and Rejoicings, muſtered his Army, that conſiſted of Fifty Squadrons of Horſe, and Six Thouſand Foot, all picked Men, under the moſt renowned Captains in *Italy*, and made a Stand at *San Germano* to hinder the Enemy from advancing; which Place he choſe for its Situation, it being on one Side

A. D. 1495.

Ferdinando crowned.

A. D. 1495. covered by high and rocky Mountains, on the other protected by a marſhy Ground full of Water, and in Front it had the River *Garigliano* (called *Liris* by the Antients) tho' not deep enough in that Place to prevent ſometimes its being waded. The Narrowneſs of the Paſſage of *San Germano* had deſervedly gained it the Name of one of the Keys of the Kingdom of *Naples*: From hence he ſent a Body of Troops to the Top of the Mountain to guard the Paſs of *Cancelle*. But his Army, already frighted at the Name of the *French* ſhewed no Sort of Reſolution; for ſome of the Leaders were more concerned for the Safety of their Perſons and Eſtates, than for that of the Kingdom, which they conſidered as loſt, whilſt others, deſirous of Novelty, began to waver, not only in their Fidelity, but in their Courage. Nor were they without Apprehenſions that, the whole Kingdom being in a high Ferment, the People might make ſome dangerous Commotion. Their Courage being overcome by theſe abject Conſiderations, as ſoon as *Monte San Giovanni* was taken, hearing that Marſhal *Gié* was marching towards

wards them with Three Hundred Lances and Two Thouſand Foot, they ſhamefully quitted *San Germano*, and in ſuch Conſternation, that they left on the Road Eight Pieces of large Cannon, and retired to *Capua*. A. D. 1495.

THE new King, truſting to the Love which the Inhabitants of that Town had profeſſed to the Family of *Aragon*, and to the Strength of the Situation, it being fronted by the River *Vulturno*, of a great Depth in that Place, hoped he ſhould be able to defend it, and by keeping his whole Force together, without leſſening his Army by Detachments for other Places, that he might be able to preſerve *Naples* and *Gaeta*. The *French* did not follow him in an united Body, but diſperſed; proceeding rather as if they were on a Journey than a March: Every one ſtraggled where he thought he could get moſt Plunder, and advanced without Colours, Order or Command; yet they kept ſo cloſe to the Enemy, that commonly ſome of the *French* at Night took up their Quarters in the ſame Villages that had *Ferdinando* and his Army in *Capua*.

A. D. 1495. been quitted in the Morning by the *Aragonians*.

BUT at *Capua* there was neither more Reſolution, or better Fortune: For no ſooner had *Ferdinando* lodged his Army there (which, ſince the Retreat from *San Germano*, was very much diminiſhed) than he received Letters from the Queen, acquainting him, that the Loſs of *San Germano* had occaſioned ſuch a Tumult in *Naples*, that unleſs he came in Perſon there was Danger of a Tumult. *Ferdinando*, after promiſing to return to *Capua*, the next Day, took with him a few Friends, and rode to *Naples*, in Hopes that his Preſence would be ſufficient to free him from this Danger: But *Giovanni Jacopo Trivulzi*, to whom he left the Care of the City, had already underhand deſired the King of *France* to ſend him a Herald, under whoſe Convoy he might approach his Majeſty with Safety, on whoſe Arrival he, with ſome of the Gentry of *Capua*, went to *Calvi*, where the King was juſt arrived; notwithſtanding that many others in the Town, who were

Ferdinando goes to *Naples*.

diſpoſed

diſpoſed to preſerve their Allegiance to *Ferdinando*, with high Words oppoſed this Procedure. A. D. 1494.

TRIVULZI came in his Armour, and being immediately introduced to his Majeſty in that Array, ſpoke in the Name of the *Capuans* and Soldiers to this Purpoſe: That *Ferdinando*, whom they had ever ſerved faithfully, whilſt there were any Hopes left, not being any longer in a Condition to defend them, they were come to a Reſolution to follow his Fortune, provided they were allowed honourable Conditions; adding, that he did not doubt but he ſhould be able to bring *Ferdinando* himſelf to him, if he could be aſſured of a Reception ſuitable to his Dignity. The King very thankfully replied, he accepted the Offers of the *Capuans* and Soldiers, and ſhould with Pleaſure admit *Ferdinando*, provided he was appriſed that he would not think of retaining any, though ever ſo little a Part, of the Kingdom of *Naples*, but be content with receiving States and Honours in the Kingdom of *France*.

A. D. 1495.

IT is a Matter of Speculation what ſhould induce *Giov. Jacopo Trivulzi*, a brave Officer, and one who valued himſelf on being reputed a Man of Honour, to commit ſo great a Tranſgreſſion: He himſelf gave out, that he had acted by *Ferdinando*'s Direction, to try if he could procure ſome Compoſition of his Affairs with the *French* King. But when he found he was totally excluded from all ſuch Hopes, and that the Defence of the Kingdom by Force of Arms was now become impracticable, it ſeemed to him not only lawful, but commendable to provide in Time for the Safety of the *Capuans* and Soldiers. But the common Opinion was very different: He was thought to have been deſirous of a *French* Conqueſt, expecting, after the Reduction of *Naples*, the King would turn his Arms againſt the Dutchy of *Milan:* For *Trivulzi* was born of a very noble Family at *Milan*, and not thinking that *Lodovico Sforza* paid him a Regard ſuitable to his Merit, either on account of the immoderate Attention to thoſe of the Family of the *San Severini*,

or

or for ſome other Reaſon, was entirely diſguſted with him: And for this Reaſon many had ſuſpected that, even at the Time he was with *Ferdinando* in *Romagna*, he adviſed him ſometimes to proceed with more Caution than, perhaps, the Occaſion required. *A. D.* 1495.

BEFORE the Return of *Trivulzi*, the King's Quarters in *Capua* had been plundered by his Soldiers, his Horſes carried away, and the Men at Arms had begun to diſperſe themſelves in different Places. *Virginio* and Count *Pitigliano*, after ſending to the *French* Camp for a Paſs for themſelves and for their Men, retired with their Regiments to *Nola*, which Town had been given to the Count by the *Aragonians*. *Ferdinando* was returning to *Capua* at the Time promiſed, having for the preſent compoſed the *Neapolitans* with the Hopes he had given them of defending that City: He was already come within two Miles of *Capua*, ignorant of what had paſſed in his Abſence, when the Citizens in general, being appriſed of his Coming, took up Arms to prevent his

A. D. 1495 Entrance, and by common Conſent ſome of the Nobility were deputed to deſire him not to advance any farther, and let him know, that as himſelf having abandoned their City, *Trivulzi* General of his Forces being gone over to the King of *France*, his Quarters plundered by his own Soldiers, *Virginio* and Count *Pitigliano* having quitted him, and almoſt all his Army being diſperſed, Self-preſervation had put them under a Neceſſity of ſubmitting to the Conqueror. *Ferdinando*, after begging in vain, with Tears in his Eyes, to be admitted, returned to *Naples*, fully perſuaded the reſt of the Kingdom would ſoon follow the Example of *Capua*, in which he was not miſtaken; for *Averſa*, a City between *Capua* and *Naples*, ſent immediately their Deputies to *Charles*, with whom, it was manifeſt, the *Neapolitans* began alſo to treat. Wherefore the unhappy Prince, finding it to no Purpoſe to oppoſe ſuch an impetuous Torrent of bad Fortune, ſummoned ſeveral of the Nobility and of the People into the Square of *Caſtel Nuovo*, which was the royal Habitation, and harrangued them with theſe Words.

"I

" I APPEAL to God, and to all thoſe who have had any Intimacy with me, if the only Reaſon for which I deſired to aſcend the Throne, was not to convince the World how much I am diſpleaſed and affected with the tyrannical Government of my Father and Grand-Father, and to recover by my good Actions that Love they had loſt by their ſevere Adminiſtration: The ill Fate of my Family has not permitted me to gather this Fruit, much more honourable than to be King: For to reign, often depends upon Fortune; but to be a King, and to have no other View in being ſo than the Good of the Subjects, depends only on perſonal Virtue. Our Affairs are now reduced into a very narrow Compaſs, and we have more Reaſon to complain that we have loſt our Kingdom thro' the Infidelity and ſhameful Cowardice of our Officers and Armies, than our Enemies to boaſt they have gained it by their own Valour; and yet I ſhould not be deſtitute of Hopes, if we could make but a little Stand; for the King of *Spain*, and all the *Italian* Princes are preparing to come powerfully to our Aid, they having now opened

A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. opened their Eyes, and being convinced on what they had not before conſidered, that the Fire which has broke out in our Kingdom, if not extinguiſhed in Time, will alſo extend to their States. For my Part I don't want Courage to terminate my Reign and Life at the ſame Time, with that Glory that becomes a young King, lineally deſcended from ſo long a Succeſſion of Kings, and the Expectations you have hitherto been pleaſed to entertain of me. But as this cannot be attempted without expoſing our common Country to very great Dangers, I am rather inclined to give Way to bad Fortune, and conceal my Courage and Ardour, than, by endeavouring to preſerve the Crown, draw thoſe Miſeries on my People, to avoid which only, I deſired to reign over them. I adviſe and intreat you to ſend and agree with the King of *France*; and that you may do it without any Prejudice to your Honour, I freely abſolve you from your Homage, and the Oaths of Allegiance, which a few Days ſince yon took to me: This I counſel you to do, that by your Submiſſion and Readineſs to receive him you may ſtrive to mitigate

the

the natural haughty Spirit of the *French*. A. D. 1495.
If their barbarous Cuſtoms ſhould render their Government hateful, ſo as to make you wiſh for my Return, I ſhall be at hand to aſſiſt you, and always ready to expoſe my Life in any dangerous Enterprize. But ſhould you find their Adminiſtration mild, neither this City or Kingdom ſhall ever receive any Diſturbance from me: The Felicity of my People will aſſuage my Sufferings, and I ſhall receive ſtill a greater Satisfaction if I ſhould know you retain in Memory that neither as Prince or King I ever injured any one: That I never gave any Marks of Avarice or Cruelty; That I am not unfortunate through my own, but by my Anceſtors Miſconduct: That I am determined that none of my Subjects ſhall ſuffer for any Attempts I might make to preſerve or recover my Kingdom, and that I am more affected at loſing the Opportunity of mending the Faults of my Father and Grand-Father, than at the Loſs of my Authority and Royal State. Tho' an Exile, deprived of my Country and Kingdom, I ſhall not think myſelf entirely miſerable, if I knew you were convinced that theſe are my real

Sen-

A. D. 1495. Sentiments, and were perſuaded I ſhould have followed the Example of my Great-Grandfather old *Alfonſo*, and not that of *Ferdinando* and this laſt *Alfonſo*.

THIS Speech could not fail of being heard with Compaſſion, and drew Tears from many. But the Name of the two laſt Kings was ſo odious to all the People and to almoſt all the Nobility, and ſo alluring the Deſire of a *French* Government, that the Tumult ſtill continued as high as ever; and as ſoon as the King was retired into the Caſtle, the Mob began to pillage his Stables in the Square, an Indignity he could not ſupport: Wherefore he courageouſly, with a few Courtiers, came out to ſtop them, and ſuch was the Reſpect paid, tho' by a rebellious People, to the Majeſty of a Royal Name, that they all deſiſting from their Plunder retired from the Stables; then returning into the Caſtle he ordered all the Ships in the Harbour to be ſunk and burnt, that they might not be of Uſe to the Enemy.

A. D. 1494.

He began by ſome Tokens to ſuſpect that Five Hundred *German* Foot, who guarded the Caſtle, intended to make him a Priſoner; wherefore he took a ſudden Reſolution to make them a Preſent of all the Effects that were repoſited therein, and whilſt they were buſy in dividing the Effects, having firſt ſet at Liberty all the Barons who eſcaped the Cruelties of his Father and Grand-father, except the Prince of *Roſſano*, and Count *Pepoli*, he went out thro' the Poſtern, on board the light Gallies that waited for him in the Port. He was accompanied by Don *Federigo*, the old Queen Conſort to his Grand-Father, *Joanna* her Daughter, and a few Domeſtics, and landed in the Iſle of *Iſchia*, called by the Antients *Enaria*, thirty Miles from *Naples*, repeating often the Words of the Pſalmiſt, till he loſt the Sight of *Naples*, "Vain is the Watch of thoſe who guard a City that is not guarded by God." But meeting every where with Difficulties, he was obliged at *Iſchia* to make a Trial of his own Virtue, as alſo of the Ingratitude and Unfaithfulneſs which are commonly met

Ferdinando abandons his Kingdom.

A. D. 1495. met with by thoſe who ſuffer under the Frowns of Fortune: For the Governor of the Caſtle refuſed to admit him, unleſs he would come in accompanied only by one of his Followers. He agreed to it, but had no ſooner entered the Gates than he ſeized the Governor, with ſuch Violence, that both he and the others were ſo terrified at his Fierceneſs, and the Impreſſion of Royal Authority, that the King ſoon had the Governor and Caſtle at his Devotion. When the News was ſpread of the King's Flight, every one gave way as to a moſt impetuous Torrent to the ſole Fame of the Conqueror; and *Virginio* and Count *Pitigliano*, without any Reſiſtance, were made Priſoners at the Place whither they had retired by Two Hundred Horſe of *Ligni*'s Regiment, tho' they had with them Four Hundred Men at Arms. They ſubmitted, partly apprehending themſelves comprized in the Paſs which their Friends adviſed them to procure from the King; and partly being ſtruck with the ſame Panic as the reſt. They were ſent Priſoners to the

the Caſtle of *Mondragone*, and all their Equipages and People were plundered. A. D. 1495.

In the mean Time the *Neapolitan* Ambaſſadors, ſent to make a Tender of their City to the King, met him at *Averſa*. *Charles* very generouſly granted them many Privileges and Exemptions; and the next Day, which was the Twenty-firſt of *February*, he made his Entry into *Naples*, where he was received with ſo much Joy and Applauſe, that it would be in vain to attempt the Deſcription; both Sexes, People of all Ages, Conditions and Factions, joining in their Expreſſions of Satisfaction, as if he had been the Father or firſt Founder of their City, without excepting thoſe, who, themſelves or their Anceſtors, had been exalted or benefited by the *Aragonian* Family. In this joyful Manner they all accompanied him to the Cathedral, from whence, as he was not in Poſſeſſion of *Caſtel Nuovo*, he was conducted to his Quarters in *Caſtel Capuano*, the old Habitation of the *French* Kings. The Rapidity and wonderful Succeſs of this Expedition ſurpaſſ- *Charles enters Naples.*

ed

A. D. 1495. ed the Example of *Julius Cæſar*. *Charles* conquered before he ſaw, and with ſo much Eaſe, that in his whole Expedition he was under no Neceſſity of ſpreading a Tent, or breaking a Lance: Many alſo of his Expences proved needleſs, for his Fleet, which was equipped at a vaſt Charge, toſſed about and ſhattered by Storms, was driven to the Iſle of *Corſica*, and did not arrive on the Coaſts of the Kingdom till *Charles* was Maſter of *Naples*. Such were the Effects of inteſtine Broils, which ſo blinded the eſtabliſhed Wiſdom of our Princes, that, with the higheſt Reproach and Deriſion of the *Italian* Soldiers, and to the very great Danger and Infamy of all, a famous and powerful Part of *Italy* was alienated from the Empire of the *Italians* to the Subjection of an *Ultramontane* Nation. For old *Ferdinando*, tho' born in *Spain*, yet as he was from his Infancy bred up in *Italy*, where he had been either King or Son of a King, and all his Children and Grand-Children, being born and educated at *Naples*, were juſtly deemed *Italians*.

The End of the Firſt Book.

Franceſco Guicciardini's

HISTORY

OF

The WARS in ITALY.

BOOK II.

THE CONTENTS.

War of Piſa. *Change of the* Florentine *Government. League between the Pope,* Venetians, *and other Princes, againſt the* French. *King's Return towards* France. *Battle of the* Taro. Ferdinando's *Return to* Naples. *Siege of* Novara *by the Confederates. Peace between* Charles *and the Duke of* Milan. *Firſt Diſcovery of the* French *Diſeaſe in* Italy.

DURING theſe Tranſactions in *Rome* and the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Sparks of a ſmall Fire, deſtined to kindle up at laſt a very great 1495.

A. D. 1495. Combuſtion, to the Detriment of many, but principally of him who, by too great a Thirſt after Dominion, had raiſed and maintained it, diffuſed themſelves in other Parts of *Italy*. For though it had been agreed, while the King of *France* was at *Florence*, that he ſhould keep Poſſeſſion of *Piſa* till the Acquiſition of *Naples*, but that the Juriſdiction and Revenues ſhould belong to the *Florentines*, yet, at his Departure from *Florence*, he had made no Proviſion, nor left any Orders for the Obſervation of ſuch an Engagement. The *Piſans*, therefore, finding themſelves favoured by the *French* Commiſſary and Garriſon, and reſolving never more to return under the *Florentine* Government, had turned out the Officers and all the *Florentines* that remained in the Place, impriſoned ſome, and ſeized on all their Goods and Effects, and broke out into downright Rebellion, both in Shew and Fact. Then, to confirm themſelves in their Revolt, they not only ſent Ambaſſadors to the King, after he had left *Florence*, to recommend to him the Defence of their Cauſe, but, reſolving to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to obtain Aſſiſtance wherever it

Piſans perſiſt in their Revolt.

could be had, ſent, immediately on their Rebellion, others to *Siena* and *Lucca*, which Cities, being very great Enemies to the Name of the *Florentines*, were overjoyed to hear of the *Piſan* Rebellion, and therefore joined together in furniſhing them with a Sum of Money, and the *Seneſe* immediately ſent them ſome Horſe. The *Piſans* ſent Ambaſſadors alſo to *Venice*, to ſound the Mind of that Senate, by whom they were favourably received, tho' they returned without Hopes of Aſſiſtance. But their greateſt Expectations were from the Duke of *Milan*, not doubting but, as he had been the principal Author of their Revolt, he would be diſpoſed to maintain it. *Lodovico*, though he pretended the contrary to the *Florentines*, ſecretly endeavoured to animate the *Piſans* by enticing Motives and Offers, and privately perſuaded the *Genoeſe* to furniſh the *Piſans* with Arms, and to ſend a Commiſſary to *Piſa* with Three Hundred Soldiers. A. D. 1495.

THE *Genoeſe*, on account of their great Enmity to the *Florentines*, which aroſe from the Diſpleaſure which they con-

A. D. 1495. ceived at their Acquiſition of *Piſa*, and from the Purchaſe which they made afterwards of the Port of *Livorno* in the Time of their Doge *Tomaſo Fregoſo*, and was, in the laſt Place, increaſed when the *Florentines* wreſted from them *Pietra Santa* and *Sarzana*, were not only prepared for ſuch an Undertaking, but had already ſeized on moſt of the Towns which the *Florentines* poſſeſſed in the *Lunigiana*, and were now, under a Pretext of the King's Letter obtained for the Reſtitution of ſome confiſcated Goods, intermeddling in the Affairs of *Pietra Santa*.

Genoeſe aſſiſt the Piſans.

THE *Florentines* making their Complaint of theſe Proceedings at *Milan*, the Duke anſwered, that by Treaties ſubſiſting between him and the *Genoeſe*, it was not in his Power to prohibit them. Yet he endeavoured to ſatisfy them with fair Speeches; and while he amuſed them with vain Hopes, ceaſed not to act a quite contrary Part, in Hopes that if *Piſa* was not recovered by the *Florentines*, he might eaſily reduce it under his own Dominion, which he moſt ardently deſired on account of the Quality of that City, and the Commodiouſneſs

of its Situation. Nor was this ambitious Deſire new in him, but began as far back as when being expelled from *Milan*, ſoon after the Death of his Brother *Galeazzo*, out of a Jealouſy which Madonna *Bona*, Mother and Tutoreſs of the young Duke, entertained of him, he reſided on the Borders of the *Piſan* for many Months. He had, beſides this, another Motive from remembering that *Piſa*, before it fell into the Hands of the *Florentines*, had been governed by *Giovan Galeazzo Viſconte*, the firſt Duke of *Milan*. He imagined, therefore, that it would be a glorious Atchievement to recover what had been poſſeſſed by his Anceſtors, and he flattered himſelf that he could pretend ſome Colour of Right, as if it had not been lawful for *Giov. Galeazzo* to bequeath by Will *Piſa*, acquired indeed by him, but at the Expence, and with the Forces of the Dutchy of *Milan*, to *Gabrielmaria*, his natural Son, in prejudice of the Dukes of *Milan* his Succeſſors. The *Piſans*, not content with freeing their City from Subjection to the *Florentines*, were ſollicitous to get into their Poſſeſſion the Towns in the Territory of

A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. *Piſa*, which almoſt all of them, as is uſua in ſuch Caſes, following the Authority of the Capital, received the *Piſan* Commiſſaries in the Beginning of the Rebellion, the *Florentines* at firſt making no Oppoſition, becauſe they were employed on Affairs of greater Moment, as they had not yet compounded Matters with the King, and expected, that, after his Departure from *Florence*, he would take Care, as he had obliged himſelf by a public and ſolemn Oath, to redreſs theſe Diſorders. But after they ſaw that he delayed the Remedy, they ſent out their Troops, and partly by Force, partly by Agreement, recovered all that had been ſeized, except *Caſcina*, *Buti*, and *Vicopiſano*, into which Towns the *Piſans*, not being ſufficient to make Reſiſtance every where, had withdrawn their Forces. *Charles* inwardly was not diſpleaſed with theſe Proceedings of the *Piſans*, whoſe Cauſe was openly favoured by many in his Court, ſome induced out of Compaſſion, from an Impreſſion made before on the Courtiers of their ſevere Treatment, and others in Oppoſition to the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, who appeared

The *Piſans* recover their Territory

Charles encourages the Rebellion

appeared to favour the *Florentines*. But above all the Seneſchal of *Beaucaire*, corrupted with Money by the *Piſans*, but much more becauſe he could not bear to ſee the exorbitant Grandeur of the Cardinal, took Occaſion, according to the Changes which happen in Courts, to diſagree with the Cardinal, from the ſame Motive which had before prompted him to promote his Intereſt that he might have him for an Aſſociate in the Depreſſion of others. This Party, not having the Regard due to the Honour and Faith of a great King, repreſented to him that it was more for his Advantage to keep the *Florentines* under this Diſtreſs, and to preſerve the *Piſans* in their preſent State, at leaſt till he had acquired the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Perſuaſions of thoſe Men prevailed with him; and, purſuant to this Advice, *Charles* laboured to feed both Parties with various Hopes, and before he left *Rome* had the *Florentine* Ambaſſadors introduced to him, that they might hear in his Preſence the Complaints which the *Piſans* had to make againſt them. A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495.

Lolo's Speech in favour of the *Piſans.*

BURGUNDIO LOLO, a Citizen of *Piſa*, and an Advocate of the Conſiſtory in the Court of *Rome*, was their Orator. He moſt bitterly complained, "That the *Florentines* had kept the *Piſans* in an unjuſt and cruel Slavery for Eighty Years: That their City, which with many glorious Victories had extended its Empire as far as the Eaſtern Parts, and had been one of the moſt powerful and magnificent Cities in all *Italy*, was now by the Cruelty and Avarice of the *Florentines* reduced to the utmoſt Deſolation: That it was almoſt deſtitute of Inhabitants, becauſe the greater Part of the Citizens, not being able to bear ſo heavy a Yoke, had, of their own Accord, abandoned *Piſa*; and that they had taken the moſt prudent Reſolution, was demonſtrated by the Miſeries of thoſe whom Love to their native Country had kept at Home: That by the heavy public Taxes, and the private Extortions of the *Florentines*, they were ſpoiled of almoſt all their Subſtance, and had no Way to ſupport themſelves, becauſe, by an unparallelled Inhumanity and Injuſtice, they had been prohibited to exerciſe

ercise Merchandising, or Arts of any Kind except mechanic, and were excluded from all Posts and Offices in the *Florentine* Dominions, even those into which Strangers were admitted: That their Oppressors were determined to destroy their Name, and extirpate their Race from the Face of the Earth: To compass which they had purposely omitted keeping up the Dikes, and cleansing the Ditches in their Territory; a Thing ever carefully attended to when they were their own Masters, as it would have been otherwise impossible to have prevented every Year that raging Sickness with which they are now afflicted, the Ground lying low, and subject to frequent Inundations. This Manner of Governing had occasioned in all Parts the Ruin of beautiful Churches, Palaces, and private and public Edifices, erected by their Ancestors with Magnificence and vast Cost: That it was no Disgrace to ancient and renowned Cities, if after a Series of many Ages they fell at last into Slavery; for it was by Fate ordained that all Things in this World should suffer Change: Therefore the Remembrance

A. D. 1495.

of

A. D. 1495. of their Nobility and Grandeur ought rather to have excited the Compaſſion than the Rage of their Conquerors, eſpecially as every one ought to reflect, that the ſame ill Fortune may, nay muſt ſome time or other, bring all Cities and Empires to an End. But the *Florentines*, far from acting on ſuch Principles, have ſo inhumanly harraſſed the *Piſans*, that, not able any longer to bear ſo heavy a Yoke, they are determined to a Man to quit their Country, or lay down their Lives, ſooner than return under ſo iniquitous, ſo impious a Government. He then deſired with Tears (which he begged his Majeſty would look on as the Tears of all the *Piſans* poured out in Floods) humbly proſtrated at his Feet, that he would recollect with how much Piety and Juſtice he had reſtored the *Piſans* to their Liberty, ſo long unjuſtly invaded; and that, as became a reſolute and magnanimous Prince, he would preſerve the invaluable Benefit he had procured, and chuſe rather the Name of Father and Redemer of their City, than, by delivering them up to a deteſted Slavery, that of Miniſter of the Rapaciouſneſs and Cruelty of the *Florentines*.

To

A. D. 1495.

To this Accuſation *Franceſco Soderini*, then Biſhop of *Volterra*, and afterwards Cardinal, one of the *Florentine* Ambaſſadors, replied with no leſs Vehemence, and endeavoured to prove, That the Title of the *Florentines* to *Piſa* was good and legal: He ſaid, they had purchaſed it, in the Year 1404, of *Gabriello Maria Viſconti*, the then lawful Poſſeſſor: That the *Florentines* had no ſooner taken Poſſeſſion, than the *Piſans* by Violence expelled them, and put them under the Neceſſity of undertaking a long War, the End of which proved as ſucceſsful as the Cauſe was juſt, nor leſs glorious to the *Florentines* for their Mildneſs than Victory: For when it was in their Power to let them periſh with Hunger, their Troops entered the Town more loaded with Proviſions than Arms: That the *Piſans* had never made any great Figure on the Continent; They had not been able to conquer even the petty State of *Lucca*, which lay ſo near them, but were always ſtraitened within a very narrow Compaſs of Land. As for their maritime Power, it had been of no Duration: For by divine Juſtice

Anſwer of the *Florentine* Ambaſſador.

A. D. 1495. Juſtice, inflicted on them for their manifold Sins, infamous Deeds, and continued inteſtine Diviſions, long before *Piſa* was bought by the *Florentines*, it was fallen from its Grandeur and Riches, depopulated, and become ſo weak, that one *Jacopo Appiano*, a mean Scrivener of the Territory of *Piſa*, had found Means to make himſelf Lord of it; and, after enjoying for ſeveral Years an abſolute Dominion, left it as an Inheritance to his Children: That very little Advantage accrued to the Republic from that City, which was only convenient, as being near the Sea; for the Revenues were inconſiderable, and the Cuſtoms ſo ſmall and trifling, that they hardly exceeded the neceſſary Expences; and the moſt that was collected was from foreign Traders, and by the Advantage of the Port of *Livorno*: Nor were the Citizens of *Piſa* excluded from Trade, civil Arts, or Employments more than any of the Inhabitants of the other Cities of their Dominion, who thought themſelves happy under a moderate and mild Government, and deſired not to change Maſters, becauſe they had not the Arrogance and the

the Obſtinacy ſo natural to the *Piſans*, that their Perfidiouſneſs was become a ſtanding Proverb all over *Tuſcany*. If, after they were conquered, many voluntarily and haſtily abandoned their Country, that muſt be attributed to their Pride, which would not permit them to accommodate their Spirits to their Strength and their Fortune, and not to the Adminiſtration, which was ever juſt and mild: Nor was *Piſa*, under the *Florentines*, diminiſhed in Riches or Inhabitants: On the contrary, the Republic had, at a vaſt Expence, regained the Port of *Livorno*, without which that City would have been deprived of all Conveniences and Emoluments; and by making *Piſa* an Univerſity for the public Study of all the Sciences, by continually taking Care of the Ditches, and by many other Ways endeavoured to increaſe the Inhabitants. The Truth of this was ſo notorious that no falſe Complaints or Calumnies were capable of obſcuring it. None found Fault with any one for deſiring to mend his Fortune; but then it was the Duty of every one to bear with Patience what his Fate had allotted him: Otherwiſe all Sovereign-

A. D. 1495.

ties

A. D. 1495. ties and Empires would be thrown into Confuſion, by making it lawful for every Subject to endeavour to ſet himſelf free. The *Florentines*, he ſaid, did not think it neceſſary to take the Pains to direct *Charles* the moſt Chriſtian King of *France* how to act *according to his Duty* in this Affair, for they aſſured themſelves, from his conſummate Wiſdom and Juſtice, that he would not ſuffer himſelf to be influenced by ſuch vain Complaints and Calumnies, but would put himſelf in Mind of what he had promiſed before his Army was received into *Piſa*, and what he had ſo ſolemnly ſwore in *Florence*, conſidering that the greater and more powerful a King is, the more glorious it will be for him to employ his Power for the Preſervation of Faith and Juſtice.

King of *France* favours the *Piſans*.

IT was manifeſt that *Charles* lent a more favourable Ear to the *Piſans*, and for their Benefit deſired that there ſhould be either a Suſpenſion of Arms till the *Neapolitan* War was finiſhed, or that till ſuch Time the *Florentines* would conſent to have all the *Piſan* Territory put into his Hands, aſſuring

ing them that, as ſoon as he was poſſeſt of *Naples*, he would without Delay execute all he had ſtipulated at *Florence*. But the *Florentines*, who now diſtruſted every Thing the King ſaid, conſtantly refuſed both theſe Expedients, and inſiſted with great Earneſtneſs on the Performance of his Promiſes. A. D. 1495.

CHARLES, to make a Shew as if he deſigned to content them, but with a real Intent to get out of them Seventy Thouſand Ducats before the due Time of Payment, when he departed from *Rome*, ſent the Cardinal of *St. Malo* to *Florence*, pretending to the *Florentines* that he had given him a Commiſſion to grant Satisfaction for their Demands, but gave him private Inſtructions to feed them with Hopes till he had got the Money, and then at laſt to leave Things in the ſame Situation as he found them. The *Florentines*, tho' ſtrongly ſuſpicious of the *French*, yet paid Forty Thouſand Ducats, of which the Term of Payment was nearly expired; and the Cardinal, as ſoon as he had received the Money, went to *Piſa*, promiſing to reſtore

to

A. D. 1495. to the *Florentines* the Poſſeſſion of that City, but returned without Effect, alledging for his Excuſe that he had found the *Piſans* ſo obſtinate that his Authority was not ſufficient to diſpoſe them, and he had no Power to conſtrain them, becauſe he had received no ſuch Commiſſion from the King, and that it did no way become him, who was a Prieſt, to take any Reſolution from which might reſult an Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood. He took Care, however, to put freſh Troops into the new Citadel, and would have done the ſame in the old Citadel, had the *Piſans* conſented to it. The Spirits and Forces of theſe People increaſed every Day, for the Duke of *Milan* judging it neceſſary that there ſhould be a larger Garriſon in *Piſa*, and a Commander of ſome Experience and Valour, ſent thither *Lucio Malvezzo* with a Reinforcement of Troops, though with his uſual Arts covering himſelf with the Name of the *Genoeſe*: And embracing all Occaſions of fomenting the Troubles of the *Florentines*, that it might be more difficult for them to attack the *Piſans*, he joined with the *Seneſe* in hiring *Jacopo d'Appiano*

Lodovico ſends Forces to *Piſa*.

d'Appiano Lord of *Piombino*, and *Giovanni Savello* to give them Courage for maintaining *Montepulciano*, which Town having lately revolted from the *Florentines* to the *Senese* was received by them without any Regard to the Confederacy subsisting between the two Commonwealths. A. D. 1495.

The *Florentines* uneasy under their Form of Government.

At this Juncture the *Florentines* were under no less Anxiety and Concern on account of their intestine Commotions. For, in order to settle the Government of the Republic on a new Foundation, they had, immediately after the Departure of the King from *Florence*, held a Parliament, which, according to their antient Custom, is an Assembly of the whole Body of the Citizens, in the Square of the public Palace, where every one freely and openly spoke his Sentiments on Matters proposed by the chief Magistrates, and had constituted a Kind of Polity which, under the Name of popular Government, tended in many Respects rather to put the Power in the Hands of a Few than to leave it free for universal Participation. This creating Uneasiness in many of the Citizens, who

A. D. 1495. had propoſed to themſelves a greater Latitude, and the private Ambition of ſome of the principipal Citizens concurring in the ſame View, it had been neceſſary to enter on a new Debate concerning the Form of Government; on which as the principal Magiſtrates, and moſt creditable Perſons were one Day conſulting, *Pagol' Antonio Soderini*, a knowing and very reputable Citizen, made a Speech, as we have heard, in Subſtance as follows.

Soderini's Speech before the Magiſtracy of Florence.

" It would certainly be very eaſy, moſt worthy Citizens, to demonſtrate that the Writers on civil Affairs have not been ſo free of their Praiſes on a popular Government as on that of a ſingle Prince, or one under the Adminiſtration of the Nobles: Yet as the Deſire of Liberty is of long ſtanding, and in a manner natural in this City, and the Conditions of the Citizens ſuited to Equality, a very neceſſary Foundation of popular Governments, it ought, doubtleſs, to be preferred by us before all others. But this Diſpute might ſeem ſuperfluous, ſince, in all the Conſultations that have been held for ſome Days paſt, it

it has been always determined, by univerſal Conſent, that the City ſhould be governed in the Name and by the Authority of the People. But the Diverſity of Opinions ariſes from hence, that ſome Perſons would freely accede in the Regulation of the Parliament to thoſe Forms of a Republic by which this City was governed before its Liberty was oppreſſed by the Family of the *Medici*; others, of which Number I confeſs myſelf to be one, judging that a Government ſo regulated has in many Reſpects rather the Name than the Effects of a popular Government, and apprehenſive of the Accidents which have frequently reſulted from the like Governments, deſire a more perfect Form, and ſuch as is adapted to preſerve the Harmony and Security of the Citizens; Bleſſings which neither Reaſon, nor Experience of Times paſt will ſuffer us to expect in this City, unleſs under a Government entirely depending on the Power of the People; but that Power muſt be reduced under due Order and Regulation, which conſiſts principally in two fundamental Points: The firſt is, that all Places of Honour and A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. Profit, both in the City and throughout its Dominions, be from Time to Time beſtowed by a general Council of all thoſe who are by our Laws qualified for a Share in the Government; and no new Laws to paſs without the Approbation of this Councii. Hence, as it will not be in the Power of private Citizens, or any particular Conſpiracy, or ſecret Intelligence, to beſtow Places of Dignity and Authority, ſo none will be excluded from them by the Paſſions, or at the Pleaſure of others, but they will be diſtributed according to the good Qualities and Deſerts of Men; whence it will be the Care of every one, by Virtue and good Manners, and by rendering himſelf uſeful both in a public and private Capacity, to open himſelf a Way to Honours; as, on the other hand, every Perſon will think himſelf obliged to abſtain from Vices, and doing Miſchief to others, and, in ſhort, from all ſuch Actions as will render him odious in a well regulated City; nor will it be in the Power of One or a Few, by new Laws, and with the Authority of the Magiſtracy, to introduce another Government, becauſe he can make

no

no Alteration in the preſent without the Conſent of the Univerſal Council.---The ſecond fundamental Point is, that Reſolutions of Importance, that is, ſuch as concern Peace or War, the Examination of new Laws, and, in general, all Things neceſſary to the Adminiſtration of ſuch a City and Dominion, be debated by Magiſtrates particularly appointed to thoſe Charges, and by a more ſelect Council of prudent and experienced Citizens, deputed by the popular Council. For the Knowledge of State Affairs not falling within the Capacity of every one's Underſtanding, it is neceſſary that they ſhould be managed by ſuch as are equal to the Charge. Beſides, ſuch Matters often require Diſpatch and Secrecy, and therefore cannot come under the Conſultations or Reſolutions of the Multitude. Nor is it neceſſary for the Preſervation of Liberty that ſuch Affairs ſhould be debated in very large Aſſemblies; for Liberty remains ſecure while the Diſtribution of Offices, and enacting new Laws depend on univerſal Conſent. Proviſion then being made with relation to theſe two Points, the Government becomes

A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. truly popular, the Liberty of the City well founded, and the laudable Form of the Republic fixed and durable. There are, indeed, many other Requiſites which tend to make the Government of which we have been ſpeaking more perfect, but may more properly be deferred till another Opportunity, that we may avoid too much perplexing at firſt the Minds of Men ſtill labouring under Doubts and Jealouſies from the Memory of the late Tyranny, and who, not being accuſtomed to debate on free Governments, cannot thoroughly underſtand what Reſolutions it may be neceſſary to take for the Preſervation of Liberty. There are alſo ſome Particulars, which being of leſs Moment may ſafely be deferred to a more convenient Seaſon, and a more favourable Opportunity. The Citizens will be more and more in Love with this Form of a Republic, and being by every Day's Experience rendered more capable of knowing the Truth will deſire to have the Government continually poliſhed, and brought to entire Perfection. In the mean time it will ſupport itſelf by the two fundamental Props aforeſaid; and

and how eaſily theſe may be provided, and the Advantages they will produce, is not only demonſtrable by many Reaſons, but will appear moſt evidently by Example. For as to the Government of the *Venetians*, though it belongs only to the Nobles, yet theſe Nobles are no other than private Citizens, and are ſo numerous, and of ſuch different Qualities and Conditions, that it cannot be denied to partake in a great meaſure of a popular Form of Adminiſtration, and that it may in many Particulars be imitated by us: And yet it is founded chiefly on thoſe two Baſes, on which that Republic has for ſo many Ages preſerved, together with its Liberties, Union, and civil Concord, and is advanced to ſo great a Height of Glory and Grandeur. Nor has the Union of the *Venetians* proceeded from their Situation, as many imagine; for in that Situation may poſſibly ariſe, and ſometimes have actually ariſen, Contentions and Seditions; but a Form of Government ſo well modelled, and ſo well proportioned in all its Parts, could never fail of producing ſuch precious and admirable Effects. Neither ought we to be A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. leſs moved by our own than by foreign Examples, but then we are to conſider them in a contrary Light, for our City had never a Form of Government like to this, which has been the Cauſe that our Conſtitution has been always ſubject to frequent Changes, ſometimes trampled on by the Violence of Tyrannies, at others ſuffering terrible Breaches from the ambitious and covetous Contentions of a Few, and ſometimes ſhaken and endangered by the unbridled Licentiouſneſs of the Multitude. And whereas Cities were built for the Quiet, and happy Living of the Inhabitants, the Fruits of our Governments, our Happineſs, our Repoſe, have been Confiſcations of Goods, Baniſhments, and Beheadings of our miſerable Citizens. The Regulations introduced into the Parliament differ not from thoſe of former Times in this City, which produced nothing but Contentions and Calamities, and after infinite Vexations, both public and private, at laſt ended in Tyrannies. Theſe and no other were the Cauſes that of old moved the Duke of *Athens* to oppreſs the Liberty of our Anceſtors; encouraged by theſe alone

alone *Coſimo de' Medici*, in later Times, ſubverted our Freedom. Nor does it deſerve our Wonder, for when the Diſpoſal of Offices, and the Enacting of Laws are daily tranſacted without Need of the common Conſent, but depend on the Will of a leſſer Number, the Citizens, in ſuch a Situation, will be no longer intent on promoting the Good of the Public, but to gratify their Deſires and private Ends, Parties will ariſe and particular Combinations, followed by Diviſions of the whole City, the Plague and moſt certain Deſtruction of all Republics and Empires. How much more prudent then is it to avoid thoſe Forms of Governments which, from Reaſon and Example among ourſelves, we may be aſſured are pernicious, and to embrace ſuch as, by Reaſon and Example of others, we may be ſatisfied are ſalutary and happy! For the meer Force of Truth obliges me to ſay that, in our City, a Government, conſtituted in ſuch a Manner as that a few Citizens ſhall be inveſted with an immoderate Authority, will be a Government of a few Tyrants, who will be ſo much more pernicious than a ſingle Tyrant,

A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. Tyrant, as an Evil becomes greater and does more Miſchief the more it is multiplied. And, if there were no other Cauſes, the Difference of Opinions, with the Ambition and various Deſires of Men, would not afford any Hopes of a laſting Agreement; and Diſcord, which is highly pernicious at all Times, would be more ſo in the preſent Juncture, when you have ſent into Exile ſo powerful a Citizen, are deprived of ſo important a Part of your State, and when all *Italy* is in the greateſt Danger from a foreign Army within its Bowels. It has been very rarely, and perhaps never abſolutely in the Power of the whole City to regulate itſelf according to its Diſcretion; but ſince by the divine Favour you have Power now put into your Hands, Heaven grant that you may not, to your own infinite Prejudice, and to the eternal Diſgrace of the *Florentine* Prudence, loſe the Opportunity of laying the Foundation of a free Government, ſo well regulated, as not only to render yourſelves happy while it laſts, but to promiſe you its Perpetuity, and to leave for an Inheritance to your Children and Poſterity ſuch a Treaſure,

ſure, and ſuch a Happineſs, as neither you nor your Progenitors ever poſſeſſed or knew." Such was the Speech of *Pagol' Antonio*, to which *Guid' Antonio Veſpucci*, a famous Lawyer, and a Man of bright Parts, and of ſingular Dexterity, made the following Reply: A. D. 1495.

Anſwer of *Guid' Antonio Veſpucci.*

" If a Government, moſt worthy Citizens, modelled according to the Form propoſed by *Pagol' Antonio Soderini*, could produce the deſired Effects with the ſame Eaſe as is delineated, he muſt certainly be a Man of a very corrupt Taſte, who ſhould deſire any other Government in our Country; he would be a very bad Citizen, who was not ardently in Love with the Form of a Republic, in which Virtue, Merit, and Worth were the chief Recommendations to Notice and Honour. But I cannot comprehend what Grounds we have to hope that a Government wholly placed in the People will produce ſuch great Benefits. I know well what Reaſon teaches, what Experience ſhews, and what the Authority of able Men confirms, that in ſo great a Multitude there are not to be found

that

A. D. 1495. that Prudence, that Experience, and that Order from which we can promiſe ourſelves that the Knowing ſhall be preferred to the Ignorant, good Men to bad, Men of Experience to ſuch as never had the Management of any Buſineſs. For as from a Judge of no Skill or Capacity we can expect no righteous Sentence, ſo from a People full of Confuſion and Ignorance cannot be hoped, unleſs it be by Chance, any prudent or reaſonable Choice or Reſolution. And can we believe that in public Governments what can hardly be diſcerned by wiſe Men, who mind no other Buſineſs, ſhould be known and diſtinguiſhed by an unſkilful and unexperienced Multitude, compoſed of Perſons of ſo great a Variety of Talents, Conditions and Cuſtoms, and Men wholly taken up with the Buſineſs of their particular Callings? Not to mention that the immoderate Conceit which every one will have of himſelf, will excite them all to the Deſire of Honours. Nor will Men be content in a popular Government with acquiring the honourable Benefits of Liberty, but will all aſpire to the principal Degrees, and to intermeddle in

in Debates on Affairs of the higheſt Im- A. D. 1495.
portance and Difficulty. For the Modeſty of giving Place to one who has more Knowledge, or more Merit, reigns leſs among us than in any other City; but perſuading ourſelves that of Right we ought all to be on a Level in every Reſpect, the Poſts of Virtue and Worth, if left in the Power of the Multitude, will be confounded; and this ambitious Deſire diffuſing itſelf thro' the greater Part, will put more Power into the Hands of the leſs knowing and leſs deſerving, for being many more in Number, they will have the greateſt Power in a State conſtituted in ſuch a Manner that Opinions are counted not weighed. What Security then will you have that, content with the Form that you would introduce at preſent, they will not quickly confound the Schemes, ſo wiſely projected, by new Inventions, and imprudent Laws? Wiſe Men in ſuch a Caſe have no Power to reſiſt, and thoſe Accidents are at all Times dangerous in ſuch a Government, but will be much more ſo now, becauſe it is the Nature of Men when they part from one Extreme, in which they have been held by Violence,

A. D. 1495. Violence, to run wilfully to the other Extreme, without ſtopping in the Middle. Thus he who gets free from a Tyranny runs head-long, if not ſtopped, into an unbridled Licentiouſneſs, which may alſo juſtly be called a Tyranny; becauſe a People too reſembles a Tyrant, when it gives to the Undeſerving, and takes away from the Meritorious; when it confounds Degrees and Diſtinctions of Perſons: And its Tyranny is perhaps the more peſtiferous, in proportion as Ignorance is the more dangerous, as it has neither Weight, nor Meaſure, nor Laws, than Malignity, which at worſt is directed by ſome Regard, is reſtrained by ſome Bridle, and confined within ſome Bounds. Let not the Example of the *Venetians* move you, for, as to them, their Situation is of ſome Moment, and the inveterate Form of their Government is of great Weight; and Affairs there are regulated in ſuch a Manner, as that the important Reſolutions are more in the Power of Few than of Many; beſides, their Parts not being by Nature perhaps ſo acute as thoſe of our People, they are much eaſier to be quieted and contented. Nor is the

Venetian

Venetian Adminiſtration directed only under the Influence of thoſe two fundamental Points which have been conſidered, but a perpetual Doge, and many other Regulations, greatly contribute towards its Perfection and Stability; whereas if any one ſhould attempt to introduce ſuch Regulations into this Republic, he would meet infinite Contradictions, becauſe our City is not juſt now founded,' nor is this the firſt Time of her Inſtitution, and therefore inveterate Habits being often repugnant to the public Welfare, and Men ſuſpecting that, under a Colour of preſerving Liberty, ſome would ſeek to erect a new Tyranny, they are not eaſily diſpoſed to receive Benefit from wholeſome Advice: Thus in a Body infected and over-run with corrupt Humours, Medicines have not that kindly Effect which they operate on Bodies cleanſed from thoſe noxious Juices. From theſe Cauſes, and from the Nature of human Affairs, which commonly decline and alter for the worſe, it is more to be feared that thoſe imperfect Regulations, with which you propoſe to begin, will in Proceſs of Time be intirely diſordered, than to be hoped that either by Time or Opportuni- A. D. 1495.

ties

A. D. 1495. ties they will be brought to Perfection. But have we not Examples of our own, without ſeeking them from others? Was ever this City under the abſolute Government of the People without being full of Diviſions, without being ſhaken in every Part, and falling into Factions, which have at laſt made Way for a ſudden Revolution in the State? And if we muſt needs look out for foreign Examples, why ſhould we not remember that a Government wholly popular was the Cauſe of ſo many Tumults in *Rome*, that, had it not been for the military Skill, and Love of Arms, the Life of that Republic would have been but of a ſhort Date? Why can't we put ourſelves in Mind that *Athens*, a moſt flouriſhing and moſt powerful City, loſt its Empire, and afterwards fell under Slavery to its own Citizens and to Foreigners, by no other Means than by managing the weighty Matters of State according to the Reſolutions of the Multitude? But I ſee no Reaſon why it ſhould be ſaid that, in the Method already introduced into the Parliament, Liberty is not preſerved intire: For all Affairs are referred to the Diſpoſition of the Magiſtrates, who are not perpetual, but

but changed, nor elected by Few, a but, being approved by many, have, according to the antient Cuſtom of the City, their Election determined by Lot. How then can they be appointed by Factions, or at the Will of particular Citizens? We ſhall have a much greater Certainty that the moſt important Affairs will be examined and directed by the moſt knowing, moſt experienced, and the graveſt Perſons, who will manage them with an Order, Secrecy and Maturity quite different from thoſe of the People, who are incapable of ſuch Matters, and are ſometimes moſt profuſe in Expences where there is the leaſt Need, and at other Times, when there is the greateſt Neceſſity, ſo cloſe and niggardly, as oftentimes, for the Sake of ſaving a very ſmall Sum, to run themſelves into vaſt Expences, and Dangers. The Weakneſs of *Italy*, and in particular of our own Country, are, as *Pagol Antonio* has obſerved, highly worth our Concern. How imprudent then would it be for us, when we have Need of the moſt ſkilful and experienced Phyſicians, to put ourſelves into the Hands of thoſe who have leaſt Skill

A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. and Experience! It is your Duty to conſider, in the laſt Place, that you will keep your People in greater Quietneſs, and more eaſily induce them to take ſuch Reſolutions as are beneficial to themſelves, and to every Individual, by giving them a moderate Share of Power and Authority; for, by referring every thing abſolutely to their Diſpoſal, there will be Danger of their becoming inſolent, and too difficult and refractory to the Counſels of your knowing and well diſpoſed Citizens."

Savonarola a preaching Friar.

In this Conſultation, at which attended no extraordinary Number of Citizens, the Opinion of thoſe who were for entruſting the Power of the Government in fewer Hands would have prevailed, if human Counſels had not been over-ruled by the Interpoſition of divine Authority from the Mouth of *Girolamo Savonarola* of *Ferrara*, a Friar of the Order of Predicants. This Man, having for many Years together expounded the Word of God in public at *Florence*, and, beſides his ſingular Learning, acquired a vaſt Reputation for Sanctity, had obtained with the greater Part of the People

People the Name and Credit of a Prophet. A. D. 1495.
For, at the Time when in *Italy* no other Sign appeared but of the greateſt Tranquillity, he had often predicted in his Sermons the marching of foreign Armies into *Italy*, which would ſo terrify the People, that neither Walls nor Armies would be able to reſiſt their Power; proteſting that what he ſaid, and many other Things which he was continually foretelling, was not by human Argumentation, nor by Knowledge of the Scriptures, but merely by Divine Revelation. He had alſo given ſome Hints of the Change of the *Florentine* Government, and at this Juncture, publicly inveighing againſt the Form ſettled in the Parliament, affirmed it was the Will of God that a Government entirely popular ſhould be eſtabliſhed in ſuch a Manner, as not to leave it in the Power of a few Citizens to alter either the Security or the Liberty of the reſt. The Reverence which was paid to ſo great a Name, joined to the Deſires of Multitudes, had ſuch an Influence, that thoſe who were of different Sentiments could by no means reſiſt ſo violent an Inclination: And, there-

A. D. 1495. fore, after this Affair had been debated in ſeveral Conſultations, it was finally determined that a Council ſhould be formed of the whole Body of the Citizens, not admitting the Dregs of the Commonalty, as it was reported in many Parts of *Italy*, but only thoſe who, according to the antient Laws of the City, were qualified to participate of the Government. This Council was to have nothing under their Conſultation or Diſpoſition but the Election of all the Magiſtrates for the City and its Dominions, paſſing the Bills for raiſing Money, together with all the Laws before prepared by the Magiſtrates and other more private Councils. And to remove all Occaſions of civil Diſcord, and for the better ſecuring every one from Apprehenſions, following the Example of the *Athenians*, it was by a public Edict prohibited to take any Notice of paſt Offences or Miſdemeanors committed with relation to State Affairs. On this Baſis, perhaps, might have been erected a well regulated and ſolid Conſtitution, if at the ſame time all thoſe Regulations, which wiſe and prudent Men even then foreſaw would

would have been neceſſary, had been introduced. But as this could not be effected without the Conſent of many who, remembering Things paſt, were full of Suſpicions, it was agreed, for the preſent, only to ſettle the Grand Council, as the Bulwark of their new Liberty; and put off what was wanting to ſome other Opportunity, when what was neceſſary for the public Welfare would by Experience become known to thoſe who were now incapable of diſcerning it by Reaſon and Judgment. A. D. 1495.

SUCH were the Broils in the Affairs of *Tuſcany*. But in the mean time the King of *France*, after the Acquiſition of *Naples*, to compleat his Victory, applied himſelf principally to two Things: One was the Reduction of its two Caſtles *Nuovo* and *dell' Uovo*; for the Tower of *San Vicentio*, built to guard the Port, he had already taken with Eaſe; the other, to reduce to his Obedience the Remainder of the Kingdom. In compaſſing this, Fortune accompanied him with her uſual Favours; for *Caſtel Nuovo*, the Habitation of the *Charles* continues to reduce the Kingdom of *Naples*.

A. D. 1495. *Neapolitan* Kings, ſituated on the Sea Shore, by the Baſeneſs and Avarice of Five Hundred *Germans* in Garriſon, after a ſlender Reſiſtance, ſurrendered, on their being permitted to retire ſafe, and loaded with what Treaſure they could carry away *. Great Plenty of Proviſions was found in the Caſtle, which *Charles* inconſiderately diſtributed amongſt ſome of his People, without reflecting what might be the Conſequence.

CASTEL *dell' Uovo* is founded on a Rock in the Sea, formerly joined to the Land, till ſeparated by *Lucullus*, and is now united to the Shore by a narrow Bridge. It lies at ſo ſmall a Diſtance from the Town, that the Artillery might play upon it, and damage the Walls, but could not make any Impreſſion on the Rock; however, after a few Days Siege, the Garriſon agreed to ſurrender, if not ſuccoured in eight Days: And the Officers and Men at Arms, who were going to ſubdue the reſt of the Kingdom, were met by

The Kingdom of *Naples* reduced by the *French*.

* *Giovio* writes that the royal Treaſure, carried away by the *Germans*, exceeded the Value of a Million o Golden Ducats.

by the Barons and Deputies of the Towns several Days before they could have reached them all, contending who ſhould be firſt to receive them. This remarkable Readineſs, whether it proceeded from Inclination or Fear, it had this Effect, that the Governors of moſt of the Fortreſſes gave them up without Reſiſtance, and the Citadel of *Gaeta*, though well provided with all Neceſſaries, after a weak Defence, ſurrendered at Diſcretion; ſo that in a very few Days, with a wonderful Facility, *Charles* made himſelf Maſter of the whole Kingdom, excepting the Iſle of *Iſchia*, the Citadels of *Brindiſi* and *Gallipoli*, in the Province of *Puglia*; and, in *Calabria*, the Citadel of *Reggio*, ſituated on that Point of *Italy* which faces *Sicily*. But the City of *Reggio* ſubmitted to *Charles*, and *Turpia* and *Mantia* erected at firſt the *French* Standard, but the Inhabitants of theſe two laſt Places, on being appriſed that their Towns were diſpoſed of to Favourites, revolted again to their former Lord, being determined not to ſubject themſelves to any one under the King. Their Example was ſoon followed by the

A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. Town of *Brindiſi*, whither *Charles* had ſent no Troops, becauſe the King, out of Negligence, had paid no Regard to their Deputies whom they had ſent to *Naples* to capitulate, for he neither diſpatched them, nor would hardly give them a Hearing. This Treatment gave an Opportunity to thoſe who held out for *Ferdinando* in the Forts, to bring that City back to the Devotion of the *Aragonians*, by voluntary Conſent of the Citizens. Thoſe of *Otranto* alſo, who had declared for *France*, none repairing to receive them, did not continue in the ſame Diſpoſition. But all the Barons and great Men of the Kingdom came to pay their Homage to their new Sovereign, excepting two or three, who retired into *Sicily*, after their Eſtates had been confiſcated and given away by *Charles*, and *Alfonſo Davalo*, Marquis of *Peſcara*, left Governor of *Caſtel Nuovo*, who followed *Ferdinando*, as ſoon as he diſcovered the treacherous Deſigns of the *Germans*, to ſurrender the Caſtle.

Charles treats with *Federigo*, *Ferdinando*'s Uncle.

CHARLES, to ſecure this vaſt Acquiſition by way of Treaty, before taking *Caſtel Nuovo*

Nuovo, had ſent a Paſs to Don *Federigo*, in order to have a Conference with him. *Federigo* had reſided in *France*, in the Reign of *Lewis* XI. for ſeveral Years, and, for his Affinity to the Royal Family, was very agreeable to the *French* Court. *Charles* intimated to him that if *Ferdinando* would give up what remained unconquered, he would grant him ſuch Revenues in *France*, as might prove a ſufficient Recompence for what he ſtill preſerved. But *Federigo*, being appriſed of his Nephew's Intentions not to accept of any Terms, but ſuch as would conſtitute him intire Maſter of *Calabria*, very calmly replied, Since God, Fortune, and the Will of all the People, had concurred to beſtow on his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Ferdinando* would not reſiſt this fatal Diſpoſition, nor be any ways aſhamed to ſubmit to ſo great and mighty a Prince, but, like the reſt, be under his Obedience, and at his Devotion, provided ſome Part of the Kingdom, hinting at *Calabria*, was aſſigned him: If this was granted, he ſhould there paſs his Days, not as King, but as one

A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. one of his Barons, and adore the Clemency and Generoſity of a Monarch in whoſe Service, ſome time or other, he hoped to have an Opportunity of ſhewing that Reſolution which his ill Fortune had not permitted him to exerciſe in his own Behalf. He obſerved that nothing could be more glorious than ſuch a Conceſſion: It would be parallel to the memorable Deeds of the ancient Heroes, who, by ſuch noble Acts of Reſignation, had rendered their Fame immortal, and obtained from the People divine Honours. A Counſel not leſs ſafe than honourable: For, after *Ferdinando*'s Submiſſion, the Kingdom would be ſettled without any Danger of a Change of Fortune, whoſe Property it is, whereever Victories are not ſecured by Moderation and Prudence, to ſtain and obſcure, by ſome unforeſeen Accident, the Glory of the Conqueror. But *Charles*, judging it by no means adviſeable to give up to his Competitor any Part that might endanger the reſt, *Federigo* was diſmiſſed without coming to any Agreement.

A. D. 1495.

WHEN *Ferdinando* heard of the Surrender of the Caſtles, he left the Care of the Citadel of *Iſchia* to *Inico Davalo*, who, as well as his Brother *Alfonſo*, was an Officer of Valour and uncorrupt Fidelity, and retired into *Sicily* with the fourteen ill-armed light Gallies he had taken with him from *Naples*, to be there at hand on any Occaſion. *Charles*, in order to deprive his Enemies of a Receptacle from whence they might conveniently annoy the Kingdom, ſent to *Iſchia* the Fleet, which by this Time was arrived in the Port of *Naples*. The Town was abandoned on their Appearance, but it was not thought proper to attack the Fort, that being too well fortified. This put the King on ſending for other Veſſels from *Provence* and *Genoa*, for taking of *Iſchia*, and ſecuring the Seas, which were ſometimes infeſted by *Ferdinando*. But neither Diligence nor Counſel were equal to Fortune; for he ſhewed great Coolneſs, Negligence and Confuſion in all his Actions, and the *French* were become more inſolent than uſual by ſo much Proſperity, and, giving themſelves up

Ferdinando retires into *Sicily*.

A. D. 1495. up to Feaſting and Pleaſures, left to Chance Matters of the greateſt Moment, whilſt thoſe who were in Favour attended to nothing elſe but to obtain, privately of the King, what Advantage they could make of the Victory, without any Regard to the Dignity or Intereſt of their Prince.

Gemin's Death. About this Time died at *Naples Gemin* the *Ottoman*, to the great Concern of the King, who expected he would have been very uſeful in the War he intended to make upon the *Turks*. It was firmly believed that his Death proceeded from a ſlow Poiſon, given him by the Pope, which was to deſtroy him in a determinate Time, becauſe he had in a manner been forced from him, by which he was deprived of the yearly Penſion of Forty Thouſand Ducats paid him by his Brother *Bajazet*. Thus he gratified his Revenge, by hindering others from reaping that Profit of which they had deprived him, or was mov'd by Envy to the Glory of *Charles*, and perhaps feared that, if he proſpered againſt the Infidels, he would turn his Thoughts, as many, out of private Intereſt, were continually ſtimulating him

on

on reforming the Church, which was ſo totally degenerated from the ancient Cuſtoms, that the Authority of the Chriſtian Religion daily declined, and every one expected it would do ſo more and more during this Pontificate, acquired by very bad Arts, and adminiſtred by worſe perhaps than were ever known in the Memory of Man. Nor were there wanting thoſe who believed (for the very corrupt Diſpoſition of this Pope made the greateſt Iniquities credible) that *Bajazet*, on hearing of the King of *France*'s Expedition into *Italy*, had with a large Sum of Money bribed *Alexander*, by the Means of *Bucciardo*, to put *Gemin* to Death. But *Charles* did not for this give over the Thoughts of his *Turkiſh* Enterprize, but, with more Heat, than Prudence or Counſel, ſent into *Greece* the Archbiſhop of *Durazzo*, a Native of *Albania*, who had given him Hopes, through his Intereſt, with ſome Exiles, to create Commotions in that Province. However, new Incidents obliged him to turn his Mind on other Objects. A. D. 1495.

Lodovico alarmed at *Charles*'s Progreſs.

It has been already ſaid that an eager Deſire of uſurping the Dutchy of *Milan*, together

A. D. 1495. gether with the Fear of *Piero de' Medici* and the *Aragonians*, induced *Lodovico* to procure this Invaſion of the *French*. But after obtaining his ambitious Deſires by their Coming, and ſeeing the *Aragonians* ſo reduced as to be hardly in a Condition to keep their Perſons out of the Enemy's Power, he was ſeized with a ſecond Fear, much ſtronger and juſter than the former, which was the imminent Slavery of himſelf and all the *Italians*, in caſe the Kingdom of *Naples* ſhould be added to the Power of *France*. He was in Hopes the King would have met with more Difficulties in the *Florentine* State, but obſerving how eaſily he had allied with that Republic, and with the ſame Facility had overcome the Oppoſition made by the Pope, and entered the Kingdom of *Naples* without any Obſtacle, he thought his Danger daily increaſed in proportion to the great Progreſs that the King made.

Alſo the *Venetians*. THE ſame Terror began alſo to ſeize the Minds of the *Venetians*, who had hitherto kept ſteady to their firſt Reſolution of being neuter, and with great Circumſpecti-

on

on had abſtained not only from acting, but from all Appearances which might render them ſuſpected of any Inclination to favour one Side more than the other. For this Reaſon they had not appointed their Ambaſſadors *Loredano* and *Domenico Treviſano* to compliment the King till he had paſſed the *Alps*, and then detained them till he was arrived at *Florence*. But now, alarmed at this Torrent of Proſperity, and ſeeing the King like Lightning make his Way through all *Italy* without Reſiſtance, they began to conſider their Neigbours Danger as their own, and that their Ruin would quickly be followed by that of their Republic. His ſeizing on *Piſa*, with other Caſtles of the *Florentines*, and leaving a Garriſon in *Siena*, and in the Towns of the Eccleſiaſtical State, were ſhrewd Tokens that *Charles*'s Deſigns reached farther than the Kingdom of *Naples*; wherefore they willingly liſtened to *Lodovico Sforza*'s Propoſals, who, as ſoon as the *Florentines* had complied with the King, began to treat with, and invite them to join him in putting a Stop to the common Danger. And it was thought, that if *Charles* had met with

A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. with any Difficulties in the *Roman* Territory, or in his Entrance into the Kingdom of *Naples*, they would have jointly taken up Arms againſt him. But the Victory, following ſo ſuddenly, put an Obſtacle to all that was treating to prevent it.

BUT now *Charles*, falling into Suſpicion of the Proceedings of *Lodovico*, had, after his Conqueſt of *Naples*, taken into his Service *Gianjacopo Trivulzi*, and aſſigned him an Hundred Lances, with an ample Salary, becauſe he was at the Head of the *Guelf* Party in *Milan*, and entirely diſaffected to *Lodovico*. He next, with many fair Promiſes, brought into his Intereſt Cardinal *Fregoſo*, and *Objetto dal Fieſco*, becauſe they were powerful Inſtruments for raiſing Commotions in *Genoa*; and refuſed to grant *Lodovico* the promiſed Inveſtiture of the Principality of *Taranto*, aſſerting he could not lay any Claim to that Promiſe until the whole Kingdom was entirely ſubdued. Theſe Proceedings were very diſagreeable to *Lodovico*, and gave him a Handle to lay an Embargo on Twelve Gallies that were equipping for the King at

at *Genoa*; and alſo to order that no Veſſels ſhould be armed for the *French* Service in that Port. The King made great Complaints of this Uſage, which he gave for a Reaſon of his not having been able to renew his Attack on *Iſchia* with a greater Force. *A. D.* 1495.

JEALOUSIES and Diſcontents thus daily increaſing in all Parts, and the ſudden Acquiſition of *Naples* repreſenting to *Lodovico*, and the *Venetians*, the Danger greater and nearer at hand, they were neceſſitated to defer no longer the Execution of their Schemes, and they engaged the more readily as they were ſure of powerful Confederates: For the Pope, who was exceſſively terrified at the *French*, was not leſs ready to come into their Meaſures. But what the Senate and *Sforza* laid the greateſt and moſt ſolid Foundation on was the Aſſiſtance of *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella* Sovereigns of *Spain*. In their late Treaty with the King of *France*, they having engaged not to moleſt him in the Acquiſition of *Naples*, ſolely with a View of inducing him to reſtore the County of *Rouſſillon*, *Italian* Powers alarmed.

A. D. 1495. *ſillon*, had craftily left themſelves at Liberty to act the contrary; for (if the Report be true which they gave out) there was added to the Articles of that Reſtitution a Clauſe, from which they inferred, that if the Pontiff, for the Intereſt of his Fief, ſhould require them to aſſiſt the Kingdom of *Naples*, they were at liberty to do it without any Infringement of their Faith and Promiſes.

BUT be this as it will, certain it is that, as ſoon as they had recovered theſe Towns, they not only began to give Hopes of their Aſſiſtance to the *Aragonians*, and earneſtly underhand intreated the Pope not to abandon their Cauſe, but exhorted the King of *France*, firſt in a friendly manner, as deſirous of his Glory, and out of Zeal for Religion, that he would turn his Arms rather againſt Infidels than againſt Chriſtians; and afterwards preſſed the ſame with more Vehemence, and in Terms more ſuſpicious, according to the Progreſs he made towards *Naples*. And that their Repreſentations might be accompanied with greater Weight, and alſo to feed the Pope

Pope and *Aragonians* with greater Hopes, under Colour of ſecuring *Sicily*, they prepared a Fleet, which, however, did not arrive till *Naples* was loſt; and, according to their Cuſtom of promiſing more than they effected, this Armada had only on board Eight Hundred Gennets, and a Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot. They proceeded in this diſſembling Manner till the *Colonnas* had ſeized on *Oſtia*, and the Threats uttered by the King of *France* againſt the Pope gave them a more plauſible Reaſon to diſcover what they had already conceived in their Minds. They then (which was before the King left *Florence*) publicly declared, by their Ambaſſador *Antonio Fonſeca*, that, according to the Duty of Chriſtian Princes, they would take under their Protection the Pope and the Kingdom of *Naples*, which was a Fief of the *Roman* Church. At the ſame time they began to treat of a Confederacy with the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan*; and, after the Flight of the *Aragonians*, very earneſtly ſollicited that, for the common Safety, they would join with them againſt the *French*. At laſt, in the Month of *A. D.* 1495.

A. D. 1495. *April*, in *Venice*, whither the Ambaſſadors of all thoſe Princes had reſorted, a Confederacy was concluded between the Pope, the King of the *Romans*, the King of *Spain*, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan*. By the Title of theſe Articles which were publiſhed, it appeared that the only Intent of this League was to protect each others Dominions, and all Princes were permitted to accede to it on reaſonable Terms. But as they were unanimous in thinking it neceſſary that *Charles* ſhould not keep Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Naples*, it was ſtipulated in the ſecret Articles, that the *Spaniards* who were come into *Sicily* ſhould aſſiſt *Ferdinando* of *Aragon* in the Recovery of that Kingdom, that Prince having formed a Deſign of entering *Calabria*, relying on the Affections of thoſe People: That the *Venetians* ſhould at the ſame Time attack the maritime Coaſts of the Kingdom with their Fleet: That the Duke of *Milan*, to prevent freſh Succours from *France*, ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of *Aſti*, where the Duke of *Orleans* was left with a few Troops; and that the Kings of the *Romans* and of *Spain* ſhould be allowed

A League againſt the King of *France*.

lowed by the other Confederates a certain Sum of Money, to enable each of them to enter *France* with a powerful Army. The Confederates wiſhed alſo that all the *Italian* Powers would unanimouſly join them, and therefore preſſed the *Florentines* and the Duke of *Ferrara* to enter into the ſame Confederacy. The Duke being requeſted before the Publication of the League, had refuſed to take up Arms againſt the King of *France*; yet at the ſame time, with an *Italian* Caution, permitted his eldeſt Son Don *Alfonſo* to go into the Service of the Duke of *Milan* with an Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, under the Title of Lieutenant-General of his Forces. Different was the Caſe of the *Florentines*, who were invited into the Confederacy with large Offers, and had very juſt Reaſons to abandon the King: For as ſoon as the Treaty was divulged, *Lodovico Sforza* engaged, in the Name of all the Confederates, that the whole Strength of the League ſhould oppoſe the King, if he offered to attack them in his Return from *Naples*, and alſo aſſiſt them whenever Occaſion offered in recovering *Piſa* and *Li-*

A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. *vorno.* On the other hand, the King, without any Regard to his Promiſes made in *Florence*, had neither put them in Poſſeſſion of their Towns, nor after the Acquiſition of *Naples* reſtored their Fortreſſes, paying greater Deference to the Counſels of thoſe who favouring the *Piſans* perſuaded him that, the Inſtant his Majeſty reſtored them, the *Florentines* would join the reſt of the *Italians*, than to his Word aud Oaths; and the Cardinal of *San Malo* very faintly oppoſed theſe Counſels, tho' he had received a large Sum of Money from the *Florentines*, becauſe he did not care on their Account to enter into Diſputes with the Great Men of the Court. The King had given Proofs of the ſmall Value he ſet on his Faith, and on the Importance of the Adherence of the *Florentines* at ſuch a Juncture; for when their Ambaſſadors complained of the Rebellion of *Montepulciano*, and deſired him to oblige the *Seneſe* to reſtore that Town, he anſwered, as it were in Deriſion, "What can I do, if your own Subjects rebel, on account of their ill Uſage?" Notwithſtanding theſe Provocations, the *Florentines*

tines would not ſuffer their Reſentment to get the better of their Judgment where their Intereſt was concerned; but were determined not to hearken to the Propoſals of the Confederates; being unwilling to give any freſh Occaſion to provoke againſt them the *French* Arms at the King's Return, and they had alſo ſome Hopes of procuring the Reſtoration of their Towns when they treated with his Majeſty in Perſon. Beſides, they truſted little to the fair Promiſes of the Allies; being ſatisfied they were hated by the *Venetians* for the Oppoſition they had at different Times given to their Undertakings; and well knowing that *Lodovico* himſelf aſpired after the Dominion of *Piſa*. A. D. 1495.

TAE Credit of the *French* was by this Time very much ſunk in the Kingdom of *Naples*; for, by giving themſelves up to Diverſions, and leaving the Government to Chance, they had neglected to expel the *Aragonians* from the few Places they poſſeſſed, which might have eaſily been compaſſed, had they purſued their good Fortune. But the Affection of the People

Ill Conduct of the *French*.

A. D. 1495. was much diminiſhed, becauſe though the King had given Marks of his Generoſity on ſeveral Occaſions by granting, in all Parts of the Kingdom, ſuch Privileges and Exemptions, as amounted to above Two Hundred Thouſand Ducats a Year, yet other Matters were not conducted with the Order and Prudence that were neceſſary: For *Charles*, averſe to all Trouble, did not like to hear and redreſs Complaints, but left the Management of all weighty Affairs to his Miniſters, who, either thro' Ignorance or Avarice, threw every Thing into Confuſion: The Barons were not treated with Humanity, nor rewarded: They were admitted with very great Difficulty to the King's Preſence; no Diſtinction was made between Man and Man, nor any Regard paid to Perſons of Merit unleſs it were by Chance, no Pains taken to confirm the Diſaffection of thoſe who were naturally ill-diſpoſed towards the *Aragonians*: Many Difficulties and Delays were interpoſed to protract the Reſtitution of the Eſtates and Effects of the *Anjouin* Faction, and other Barons expelled by old *Ferdinando*. No Favours were beſtowed without Bribes or ex-

extraordinary Methods, many were deprived of their Effects without Reaſon, many inriched without Cauſe, almoſt all Poſts, and the Goods of many were diſtributed amongſt the *French*, and, to the vaſt Diſpleaſure of the *Neapolitans*, almoſt all the Crown Lands) ſuch are called thoſe which are under the King's immediate Dominion) were given away, and the greateſt Part to the *French*. A. D. 1495.

THESE Proceedings were ſo much the more grievous to the Subjects, as they had been accuſtomed to the prudent and orderly Government of the *Aragonian* Kings, and had promiſed themſelves great Matters from the new King. To this was added the natural Pride of the *French*, increaſed by the Eaſineſs of their Victories, which inſpired them with ſo great a Conceit of themſelves that they held in Contempt all the *Italians*; and their Inſolence and rude Behaviour in the Houſes where the Men at Arms were quartered, as much in *Naples*, as all over the Kingdom, were become inſupportable. This unexpected Treatment had intirely alienated the Affec-

A. D. 1495. fections of the People, and converted their former Affection into violent Hatred; and, on the contrary, their Averſion to the *Aragonians* was turned into Compaſſion for *Ferdinando*, from whoſe Virtue they had Reaſon to expect great Atchievements: They called to mind his Speech, delivered with ſo much Mildneſs and Reſolution, the Day of his Daparture; in ſhort, *Naples* and the whole Kingdom wanted nothing but an Opportunity to replace on the Throne that Family whoſe Deſtruction they had deſired. Even the ſo odious Name of *Alfonſo* was becoming agreeable: They now calling that a juſt Severity which in his Father's Reign, whilſt he attended to the domeſtic Affairs of the Kingdom was called Cruelty, and that Sincerity of an upright Heart, which they had many Years called Pride and Licentiouſneſs. This is the Nature of the Commonalty, who are inclined to hope for more than they ought, and to put up with leſs than what is neceſſary, and are ſoon tired of the preſent; eſpecially the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Naples*, who are remarkable

Neopolitans diſguſted at the *French*

remarkable above all the *Italians* for their Inconſtancy and Deſire of Change. *A. D.* 1495.

The King reſolves on his Return into *France*.

THE King, before the Forming of the new League, was determined to return ſpeedily into *France*, more out of Levity, and to pleaſe all his Courtiers, who vehemently wiſhed it, than out of any prudent Motive; for in his new Kingdom many moſt important Affairs were not yet ſettled, concerning the Rights of the Princes and States, nor could the Victory be deemed compleat till the Whole was ſubdued. But when the King was appriſed of this Confederacy of ſo many Potentates againſt him, he grew very uneaſy, and adviſed with his Miniſtry what was proper to be done upon ſuch an unexpected Event. Every one agreed that, amongſt Chriſtian Princes, for many Ages, there had not been formed ſo powerful an Alliance. It was chiefly reſolved in his Council that they ſhould haſten their Departure for *France*, for the longer they ſtayed, the greater Difficulties muſt ariſe by giving Time to the Confederacy to make greater Preparations, and it was already rumoured that

A. D. 1495. that at the Order of the Allies a great Number of *Germans* were to march into *Italy*, and that *Maximilian* would command them in Perſon: They adviſed, that a new Body of Troops ſhould ſpeedily march out of *France* to *Aſti* to preſerve that City, and oblige the Duke of *Milan* to attend to his own Defence; where alſo they would be in Readineſs to advance whenever his Majeſty ſhould think it neceſſary: In the ſame Council it was ſettled, that Diligence ſhould be uſed, and great Offers made to the Pope, to ſeparate him from the other Allies, and to diſpoſe him to grant the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, to which, tho' he had abſolutely agreed when his Majeſty was in *Rome*, he had ever after refuſed it, even with a Declaration that this Conceſſion ſhould not prejudice the Claim of any other Prince.

Affairs of the *Piſans*. BUT theſe weighty Matters and great Concerns did not put the Affair of *Piſa* out of the King's Mind, who wiſhed, for many Reaſons, to have the Diſpoſal of that City in his Power. Therefore, as he apprehended the Citadel of that Town might be taken

taken from him by the *Piſans* aſſiſted by the Allies, on the Return of the *Piſan* Ambaſſadors, who were at his Court, he ſent by Sea a Body of Six Hundred *French* Infantry. They, like the reſt of their Countrymen, who had been left in *Piſa*, ſoon conceived an Affection for the *Piſans*, and after receiving a Sum of Money, in hopes of Booty, they went to aſſiſt at the Siege of *Librafatta*. *Lucio Malvezzo*, with a Body of *Piſans* being informed that the *Florentines* had ſent Part of their Troops againſt *Montepulciano*, had ventured a few Days before to lay Siege to that Caſtle, and on hearing the *French* approached, had, that very Morning before Day-light, raiſed the Siege, but now meeting with the *French* he returned to *Librafatta*, and took it in a few Days: For the *Florentine* Army, which was returning to its Succour, was retained by the Waters of the River *Secchia*, which were riſen ſo high that they could not paſs it, and they durſt not venture to go by the Walls of *Lucca*, becauſe that Republic was violently in the Intereſt of the *Piſans*. After the taking of *Librafatta*, the *French* who kept Garriſon there, A. D. 1495.

together

A. D. 1495. together with the *Piſans*, over-run the whole Territory of *Piſa*, as declared Enemies to the *Florentines*, who made grievous Complaints to the King. But *Charles* made no other Anſwer but that on his Arrival in *Tuſcany* he would perform all he had promiſed, adviſing them to wait with Patience for ſo little a Time.

Part of the *French* Army left to guard the Kingdom of *Naples*.

BUT the King could not ſet out as ſoon as he was willing, for he had not ſo great an Army that when it was divided into two Parts he could conduct himſelf to *Aſti* without Danger, conſidering the Oppoſition of the Allies, and at the ſame Time leave a ſufficient Force to protect the Kingdom of *Naples* againſt ſuch mighty Preparations. Theſe Difficulties conſtrained him to diminiſh the Proviſions neceſſary for his Safety, that the Kingdom might not remain deſtitute of Defence; and at the ſame time, not to manifeſtly endanger his Perſon, to leave fewer Troops behind him than were neceſſary for the Preſervation of his Conqueſt. He then reſolved to leave only one Half of the *Swiſs*, Part of the *French* Infantry, Eight Hundred *French* Lances, and about Five

Five Hundred *Italian* Men at Arms, which had been inliſted, Partly by the Prefect of *Rome*, and partly by *Proſpero* and *Fabritio Colonna*, and *Antonello Savelli*. Theſe Commanders had been amply rewarded by the King in his Diſtribution of the Towns and confiſcated Eſtates, eſpecially the *Colonnas*; for on *Fabritio Charles* had beſtowed the Territories of *Albi* and *Tagliacozzo*, lately poſſeſſed by *Virginio Orſini*; and on *Proſpero* the Dutchy of *Trajetto*, and the City of *Fondi*, with many other Caſtles belonging to the Family of the *Gaetani*; as alſo *Monte Fortino*, with the neighbouring Villages, taken from the Family of the *Conti*: He therefore had Reaſon to expect that theſe and ſeveral other Barons, whom he had enriched, would exert themſelves, and unite with his Troops, in caſe of Danger, as their own Intereſt would be concerned in ſupporting his, and eſpecially the Princes of *Biſignano* and *Salerno*, which laſt he had reſtored to the Office of Admiral. *Gilbert de Monpenſier* was appointed Lieutenant General of the whole Kingdom. He was in greater Repute for his Quality, being of the Royal Blood, than for his Valour. A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. lour. Many other Officers of Note, to all of whom the King had given States and Provinces, were diſperſed about the Kingdom: The chief of theſe were *Aubigni*, Governor of *Calabria*, created Grand-Conſtable; the Seneſchal of *Beaucaire*, Governor of *Gaeta*, made Grand-Chamberlain; and *Gratiano* a Man of Valour and reputed a good Officer, to whom was committed the Care of the *Abruzzi*. The King promiſed to ſend them very ſpeedily Reinforcements and Money; but he left them no other Proviſion than an Aſſignment of the daily Produce of the Finances, which was very precarious, the *Aragonian* Name gaining Ground in many Places. For, juſt before *Charles*'s Departure, *Ferdinando* was landed in *Calabria* with the *Spaniſh* Soldiers that came with the Fleet into *Sicily*; many of the Inhabitants of thoſe Diſtricts immediately flocking about him, he ſoon made himſelf Maſter of the City of *Reggio*, the Caſtle having always held out for him: At the ſame time the *Venetian* Fleet, commanded by *Antonio Grimani*, a Perſon of great Authority in the Republic, appeared on the Coaſts of *Puglia*. But neither theſe

Ferdinando in Calabria.

theſe, nor any other Indications of a-future Change, were ſufficient to put off, or retard the King's Return. For, beſides the Neceſſity which he had perſuaded himſelf there was for his Departure, 'tis incredible what Eagerneſs both he and all his Court expreſſed to return to *France*; as if Fortune, which had been ſufficient to obtain him ſo greata Victory, was alone ſufficient to preſerve it. A. D. 1495.

THE Iſlands of *Iſchia* and *Lipari*, tho' near to *Sicily*, belonged to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and continued in *Ferdinando*'s Poſſeſſion. *Reggio* in *Calabria* was newly recovered, as was *Terra Nuova*, and its Citadel, with ſome other Forts and adjacent Villages in the ſame Province; *Brindiſi*, whither *Federigo* had retired, *Gallipoli*, *Manitia*, and *Turpia*, were likewiſe in the Hands of the *Aragonians*.

BEFORE the King left *Naples* he began to treat with the Pope on ſeveral Points, not without ſome Hopes of Succeſs. *Alexander*'s Agent, on this Occaſion, was Cardinal *San Dionigi*, and Monſ. King of *France* treats with the Pope.

A. D. 1495. *Franzi* was the King's Miniſter. The Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples* was what the King chiefly deſired, and that if his Holineſs had Reaſons not to declare in his Favour, he would at leaſt not join his Enemies, but admit him into *Rome* as a Friend. *Alexander* at firſt ſeemed willing to comply; but not being able to perſuade himſelf to truſt the King, and therefore not willing to ſeparate himſelf from the Allies, or confer on him the Inveſtiture, which he thought would not be Inducement enough for a ſincere Reconciliation, and therefore diffident of the King's Mind, he interpoſed various Difficulties to his other Demands, and tho' the King ſubmitted to the Inveſtiture *without Prejudice to any one's Right*, he replied, he would firſt have the Right judicially examined. On the other hand, being deſirous to prevent with an armed Force the King's Entrance into *Rome*, he deſired the *Venetians* and *Lodovico* to ſend him a Body of Troops; and they diſpatched to his Aſſiſtance a Thouſand light Horſe, and Two Thouſand Foot, and promiſed him alſo a Thouſand Men at Arms, which with

with his own Forces he thought ſufficient for his Purpoſe. But ſoon after they began to apprehend it would be very dangerous to ſend their Men ſo far from their own States whilſt their Army was not yet all aſſembled, one Part of it being already employed againſt *Aſti*: Beſides, they diſtruſted the Pope's Fidelity, on recollecting that, after ſending for *Ferdinando* to come into *Rome* with his Army, he had obliged him to depart. On theſe Conſiderations they perſuaded the Pope rather to retire into ſome ſtrong Place, than, by undertaking the Defence of *Rome*, expoſe his Perſon to ſo great a Peril; for though the King ſhould enter *Rome*, he would ſoon depart without leaving behind him any Troops. Theſe Proceedings increaſed the Hopes *Charles* had conceived of prevailing on the Pope to enter into ſome Agreement with him. *A. D.* 1495.

THE King then left *Naples* the 20th of *May*, but as he had not yet, with the uſual Ceremonies, aſſumed the Title and Royal Enſigns, a few Days before his Departure he was ſolemnly crowned with great Pomp *Charles* crowned King of *Naples*.

A. D. 1495 and Celebrity in the Cathedral, and received the Honours and Oaths of Allegiance paid on ſuch Occaſions to new Kings. *Joviano Pontano* made an Oration in the Name of the *Neapolitan* People. He was a Perſon very famous for his excellent Learning and Politeneſs, which gave no ſmall Credit to his Speech; for having been long Secretary to the *Aragonian* Kings, they entertained ſo high an Opinion of his Merit, that they had made him Tutor and School-maſter to *Alfonſo*. It was thought that, to keep up to the Rules of Oratory, or to render himſelf more agreeable to the *French*, he expatiated too copiouſly in Diſpraiſe of thoſe Kings who had ſo much exalted him. So difficult it is to obſerve ourſelves that Moderation and thoſe Precepts with which *Pontano*, endued with ſo great a Stock of Learning, and writing ſo freely on moral Virtues, and making himſelf, by his aſtoniſhing Progreſs in all Sorts of Learning, the Wonder of the World, had acted the Part of a Dictator to all Mankind.

CHARLES

A. D. 1495.

CHARLES was accompanied by Eight Hundred *French* Lances, the Two Hundred Gentlemen of his Guard, *Trivulzi* with a Hundred Lances, Three Thouſand *Swiſs*, a Thouſand *French*, and a Thouſand *Gaſcon* Foot, and gave Orders to *Camillo Vitelli* and his Brothers to join him in *Tuſcany* with Two Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, and for the Fleet to return to *Livorno*. *Virginio Orſini*, and Count *Pitigliano*, followed without any other Guard than their Parole, but as they complained that they were unjuſtly made Priſoners, their Cauſe was laid before the Royal Council, where they alledged that when they ſurrendered, their Meſſengers had not only been granted a Paſs from the King's Mouth, but that his Majeſty, after it had been drawn out in writing had ſigned it with his own Hand: That they being informed of this by their Meſſengers, before the Paſs was expedited by the Secretaries, under this Aſſurance, at the firſt Summons of a Herald, had erected in *Nola* the King's Standard, and delivered the Keys to the

Departs from *Naples*.

The Caſe of *Virginio Orſini*, and Count *Pitigliano*.

A. D. 1495. *French* Officer, who came with a few Horſe, though they had with them above Four Hundred Men at Arms, and could eaſily have made a Reſiſtance. They then pleaded the ancient Attachment of the Family of the *Orſini*, pleading how they had ever been of the *Guelf* Party, that both themſelves and every one that had ever been born, or ſhould be born of that Houſe, had or would have engraven in his Heart the Name and Enſign of the Crown of *France*, for which Reaſon they had ſo readily admitted the King into their Dominions in the *Roman* Territory; and therefore inſiſted that, both in regard to their Behaviour, and the King's Faith, it was neither reaſonable nor juſt that they ſhould be detained Priſoners. But they were ſharply anſwered by *Ligni*, whoſe Regiment had taken them at *Nola*, that a Paſs, though granted and ſigned by the King, was of no Force nor perfected till corroborated with the Royal Seal, ſigned by the Secretaries, and delivered to the Party: That this had ever been the moſt ancient Rule and Standard of all Courts in Conceſſions and Patents. The Reaſon was, that unguarded Expreſſions from the Prince, who is ſuppoſed

poſed to be continually engaged in a Multiplicity of Buſineſs, and might not be fully informed of Facts, ſhould be regulated by this Form: That their Dependance on this Paſs had not been their Inducement to ſurrender to ſo ſmall a Force; they had acted out of Neceſſity and Fear, for it was not at that Time in their Power either to reſiſt or fly, all the Country around them being in the Hands of the Conquerors: That what they alledged by way of Merit was falſe, and, if aſſerted by others, they ought to deny it out of Regard to their own Honour, it being well known to the whole World, that not voluntarily, but to avoid Danger, they abandoned, in their utmoſt Diſtreſs, the *Aragonians*, who in their Proſperity had loaded them with Favours, and opened the Gates of their Towns to the King, who having ſurpriſed them at a Time when they were in the Enemy's Pay, utterly averſe to the *French* Intereſt, and without any juſt Security given, the Rules of War had conſtituted them legal Priſoners. Theſe Reaſonings, ſupported againſt the *Orſini* by the Power of *Ligni*, and the Authority of the *Colonnas*, who, on account of their ancient Emulation and

A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. Diverſity of Faction, openly oppoſed them, prevented the paſſing of any Sentence, and it was reſolved they ſhould follow the King, with Hopes, however, of their being ſet at Liberty as ſoon as they arrived at *Aſti*.

The Pope retires from *Rome* But the Pope, tho' perſuaded by the Allies to quit *Rome*, was ſometimes inclined to reconcile himſelf with *Charles*, and continued to treat with him: Yet at laſt his Suſpicions got the better, and two Days before the King entered *Rome*, tho' he gave his Majeſty ſome Hopes of waiting for him, accompanied by the College of Cardinals, Two Hundred Men at Arms, a Thouſand light Horſe, and Three Thouſand Foot, he retired to *Orvieto*, after leaving a ſufficient Garriſon in *Caſtel Sant' Angelo*, and the Cardinal of *Sant' Anaſtaſia* his Legate, to receive and compliment the King, who entered *Rome* by *Traſtevere*, to avoid paſſing *Caſtel Sant' Angelo*, and took up his Quarters in the Suburbs, refuſing to lodge in the Palace of the *Vatican*, which, by the Pope's Order, had been prepared for his Reception. *Alexander* removed from *Orvieto* to *Perugia*, as ſoon

Charles enters *Rome*.

ſoon as he was informed of the King's Approach to *Viterbo*, notwithſtanding he had again promiſed to meet him in ſome convenient Place, between that Town and *Orvieto*; and had *Charles* taken that Rout and followed him, he was determined to retire to *Ancona*, and taking the Advantage of the Sea ſail from thence to ſome Place where he might be in perfect Safety from being moleſted. The King, tho' highly provoked, reſtored the Citadels of *Civita Vecchia*, and *Terracina*, reſerving only *Oſtia*, which on his leaving *Italy* he put under the Care of the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*, Biſhop of that Place, and continued his March through the Eccleſiaſtical Dominious, as through a friendly Country, without committing any Hoſtilities, excepting at *Toſcanella*, where his Van being refuſed Entrance, they took the Town by Aſſault, plundered it, and put many to the Sword. A. D. 1495.

CHARLES, after this, to no manner of Purpoſe, ſtayed ſix Days at *Siena*, without conſidering with himſelf, or giving Heed to the preſſing Inſtances of the Cardinal of *San* *Charles* at *Siena*.

A. D. 1495. *San Piero in Vincola* and *Trivulzi*, who remonſtrated how dangerous it might prove te give the Enemy Time to get ready, and unite their Forces. Nor did he make any ſort of Amends for this Loſs of Time, by any prudent Reſolution. For in *Siena* a Conſultation was held concerning the Reſtitution of the Fortreſſes of the *Florentines*, ſolemnly promiſed by the King at his Departure from *Naples*, and afterwards ſeveral times confirmed on his March; the *Florentines* not only being ready to pay the Thirty Thouſand Ducats, which were the Reſidue of what was due by Agreement, but alſo to lend him Seventy Thouſand more, and to ſend *Franceſco Secco*, their General, to accompany him as far as *Aſti*, with Three Hundred Men at Arms, and Two Thouſand Foot. Hence the Neceſſity the King had for Money, the Proſpect of augmenting his Army, and a Regard to his Royal Word and Oaths, induced almoſt every one of his Council earneſtly to perſuade him to give up all but *Pietra Santa*, and *Sarzana*, as they might be of Uſe to bring the *Genoeſe* into his Intereſt. But Fate had decreed that a Match ſhould be left

left behind, to ſet *Italy* once more in a Flame. A. D. 1495.

LIGNI, an unexperienced Youth, born of a Siſter of the King's Mother, was very much in Favour: He, actuated by Levity, or angry that the *Florentines* had attached themſelves to the Cardinal of *San Malo*, prevented this Reſtitution with no other Arguments than ſetting forth the Compaſſion due to the *Piſans*, making the Aſſiſtance of the *Florentines* appear deſpicable, and boaſting that the *French* Forces were ſufficient to beat all the *Italian* Armies united together. *Ligni* was ſeconded by Monſ. *de Piens*, who expected to be made Governor of *Piſa* and *Livorno*.

ANOTHER Council was held in *Siena*, concerning the Government of that City; for ſeveral of the Orders of the People and Reformers inſiſted on a new Form, that they might depreſs the Power of the Order *del Monte de' Nove*, and required that their Guard ſhould be removed from the Town-houſe, and a *French* one placed under *Siena* taken into the King's Protection

A. D. 1495. der *Ligni*. This Demand was rejected in the Council as a Meaſure improper at that Juncture, and not durable for any Length of Time: But *Ligni*, who vainly expected to make himſelf Sovereign of *Siena*, prevailed on the King to take that City and its State into his Protection, except *Montepulciano*, his Majeſty not thinking it proper to intermeddle in the Diſputes between the *Florentines* and *Seneſe* concerning that Town. Hence, with the King's Approbation the Community of *Siena*, tho' it was not mentioned in the Capitulation, choſe, with the King's Conſent, *Ligni* for their Commander, and aſſigned him a Salary of Twenty Thouſand Ducats a Year, *Ligni* engaging to leave a Lieutenant with three Hundred Foot to guard the Palace, which he did of thoſe who were in the *French* Army. The Weakneſs of this Deliberation ſoon appeared; for not long after the Magiſtracy *de' Nove* recovered by Force of Arms their uſual Authority, expelled this Guard, and diſmiſſed Monſ. *de Liſle*, whom *Charles* had left as his Ambaſſador.

A. D. 1495.

ALL this while the Affairs of the Allies in *Lombardy* advanced very briſkly. *Lodovico* had received from *Cæſar*, with great Solemnity, the Inveſtiture of the Dutchy of *Milan*, paid Homage in Public, and taken the Oath of Fidelity to the Ambaſſador who brought the Act, and, in concert with the *Venetians*, had made vaſt Preparations to obſtruct the King's Return into *France*, or at leaſt to ſecure the Dutchy of *Milan*, through a long Tract of which he was to travel: For this Purpoſe they both, after reviewing their Troops, made new Levies of Men at Arms, to be maintained, part at their ſeparate Expence, and part in common. And, though with ſome Difficulty, they prevailed on *Giovanni Bentivoglio* to accept a Salary from both, on his obliging the City of *Bologna* to declare for the League. For the Security alſo of *Genoa*, *Lodovico* armed Ten Gallies at his own Expence: And the Pope, in concert with the *Venetians*, joined with him in the Charge of providing and maintaining Four large Ships. And being obliged by the Convention to lay Siege to *Aſti*, he had

Lodovico inveſted with the Dutchy of *Milan*.

Lodovico's Preparations againſt the King.

A. D. 1495. had already ſent into *Germany* to inliſt Two Thouſand Foot, and ordered *Galeazzo da San Severino*, with Seven Hundred Men at Arms, and Three Thouſand Foot, to undertake that Expedition. And as he was naturally very inſolent in Proſperity, promiſing himſelf a ſure Victory, out of Contempt, he ſent the Duke of *Orleans* a rude Meſſage, ordering him to uſurp no longer the Title of Duke of *Milan*, which *Charles*, the Duke's Father, had aſſumed after the Death of *Filippo Maria Viſconti*; not to permit any more *French* Troops to come into *Italy*; to ſend back thoſe with him; and, for his Security of the Performance of theſe Demands, to put *Aſti* into the Hands of *Galeazzo da San Severino*, in whom his King might confide as much as in himſelf, having the Year before, in *France*, admitted him into the Fraternity of his own Order of *St. Michael*. He then magnified and boaſted of his Forces, of the mighty Preparations of the Confederates to oppoſe the King of *France* in *Italy*, and how the King of the *Romans*, and the Sovereigns of *Spain* were making ready to carry on a War beyond the *Alps*. The Duke of *Orleans* paying little Regard to

theſe

theſe vain Menaces, on the firſt Notice of the Negociations for a new Confederacy, had attended to fortify *Aſti*, and ſollicited earneſtly for a Supply of Troops from *France*. And as the King had ſent Orders for new Levies to reinforce his own Army, they were making haſty Marches over the Mountains, which enabled him to take the Field and act offenſively. In the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo* he took the Town and Caſtle of *Gualſinara*, poſſeſſed by *Antonio Maria da San Severino*, which obliged *Galeazzo*, who had before taken ſome ſmall Caſtles, to retire with his Army to *Anon*, a Town of the *Milaneſe* near *Aſti*, where he remained without Hopes of attacking, but alſo without Fear of being attacked. *A. D.* 1495.

Lodovico was naturally inclined to enter into very expenſive Schemes, but when they were ripe for Execution was unwilling to part with his Money; a Conduct which expoſed his Dominions, at this Juncture, to great Danger. For very few *German* Soldiers had enliſted when they found Money was ſcarce; and for the

A. D. 1495. the ſame Reaſon the Troops which accompanied *Galeazzo* every Day diminiſhed. On the other Hand, the Duke of *Orleans*'s Army continually increaſed; for the *French* marched chearfully out of *France*, to the Succour of the King's Perſon.

ORLEANS had already got together Three Hundred Lances, Three Thouſand *Swiſs*, and the like Number of *Gaſcons*. And though *Charles* had ſtrictly ordered him not to undertake any Thing, that he might be ready on the firſt Notice to come and meet him; yet, as it is difficult to reſiſt what appears beneficial, he reſolved to lay hold of the Opportunity of ſeizing on the City of *Novara*, into which he was offered to be introduced by the *Opizini Caccia*, Noblemen of that City, who were greatly incenſed againſt *Lodovico* for having uſurped from them, and many other Citizens, certain Aqueducts, and other Poſſeſſions, by corrupting Witneſſes to ſwear falſly before the Judges. The Duke of *Orleans*, after ſettling with the *Opizini* the Manner, accompanied by *Lodovico*, Marquis

Marquis of *Saluzzo*, in the Night paſſed the *Po*, at the Bridge of *Stura*, in the Marquis of *Montferrato*'s Dominions, and, without meeting with any Reſiſtance, was let into *Novara* by the Conſpirators; from whence he made continual Excurſions with Parties of his Horſe, as far as *Vigevano*; and it was thought, if he had marched directly towards *Milan* with the Army, he would have excited great Commotions; for as ſoon as the *Milaneſe* heard that *Novara* was taken, they ſeemed very much inclined to revolt. *Lodovico* was not leſs dejected in Adverſity than elated in Proſperity, and as indeed Inſolence and Timidity almoſt conſtantly meet together in the ſame Subject, ſo now *Lodovico*, with unprofitable Tears, diſcovered his Puſillanimity, when he found his Troops with *Galeazzo*, on which only depended his Defence, durſt not appear before the Enemy. But the Condition and Diſorder of an Enemy not being always known to the Generals, for Want of ſuch Intelligence, the faireſt Opportunities in Wars are often loſt, nor indeed did it appear probable that ſo ſudden a Change could happen in a Prince of ſo much Power.

A. D. 1495.

The Duke of *Orleans* takes Poſſeſſion of *Novara*.

A. D. 1495.

ORLEANS, to ſecure his new Acquiſition, laid Siege to the Citadel, which the fifth Day agreed to ſurrender, if it was not ſuccoured in Twenty-four Hours: But, during that ſmall Interval, *San Severino* had Time to collect his Troops in *Vigevano*; and the Duke, to reconcile himſelf to his People, had by Proclamation taken off ſeveral Taxes which he had laid to increaſe his Army. The Duke of *Orleans*, however, approaching with his Troops to the Walls of *Vigevano*, offered the Enemy Battle; but *Sforza*'s Men were terrified, and rather inclined to abandon the Town, and paſs the River *Teſino* on a Bridge of Boats they had laid. When the Duke found he could not bring them to an Engagement he went to *Trecas*, and from that Time *Lodovico*'s Affairs took a proſperous Turn, his Army increaſing daily, both with Horſe and Foot; for the *Venetians*, being content to take on themſelves the Care of oppoſing the King, permitted him to recal Part of the Troops he had in the *Parmeſan*, and ſent him alſo Four Hundred of their *Stradiotti*. This prevented *Orleans* from advancing;

vancing; and a Party of Five Hundred of his Horſe, that had made an Excurſion to *Vigevano*, was repulſed with Loſs by a Sally from that Town. *San Severino*, ſuperior now in Strength, marched to *Trecas*, and offered Battle in his Turn, and at laſt having got together his whole Army, which conſiſted of the *Italian* Foot, beſides a Thouſand *German* Horſe, and Two Thouſand Foot, lately arrived, he encamped within a Mile of *Novara*, to which Place *Orleans* was retired with all his Forces. *A. D.* 1495.

THE News of the Rebellion of *Novara* put *Charles*, who was at *Siena*, on haſtening his March: And to avoid every Thing that might retard him, hearing that the *Florentines*, admoniſhed by their late Dangers, and being under Suſpicions, becauſe *Piero de' Medici* attended him, tho' they had appointed to receive him in *Florence* with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Honour, had for their Security filled the City with Soldiers and Arms, he paſſed thro' the *Florentine* Dominion to *Piſa*, leaving *Florence* on his Right. At *Poggibonzi* he *Charles marches to Piſa.*

A. D. 1495. was met by *Girolamo Savonarola*, who, according to his Cuſtom, mixing the Divine Name and Authority with his Speeches, earneſtly exhorted him to reſtore the Fortreſſes of the *Florentines*; to his Perſuaſions adding moſt grievous Threats that, if he heſitated to obſerve what he had ſo ſolemnly ſwore, laying his Hand on the Goſpels, and, as may be ſaid, before the Eyes of God, he would be puniſhed by Heaven in a moſt ſevere Manner. The King, with his uſual Inconſtancy, then, and the Day following, at *Caſtel Fiorentino*, gave him different Anſwers; ſometimes promiſing to reſtore them on his Arrival at *Piſa*; at others refuſing, pretending his Oaths could not be binding, becauſe he had previouſly engaged with the *Piſans* to preſerve their Liberty; yet he conſtantly gave Hopes to the Republic's Ambaſſadors that he would reſtore them on his Arrival at *Piſa*. When he came thither this Affair was again propoſed in Council; for News increaſing every Day of the great Preparations of the Confederates Army, and of their being all joined near *Parma*, they began to conſider the Difficulties

Difficulties of paſſing thro' *Lombardy*, and therefore were deſirous of the large Sum of Money and Auxiliaries offered by the *Florentines*. But this Advice was oppoſed by the ſame Perſons who had oppoſed it at *Siena*; they ſaid, if the Army ſhould be put into Diſorder by the Enemy, or meet with Difficulties in their March thro' *Lombardy*, it was better to be aſſured of the Town of *Piſa*, whither they might ſafely retreat, than to leave it in the Hands of the *Florentines*, who, when once in Poſſeſſion of their Towns, would be as treacherous as the reſt of the *Italians* had been; adding that, for the Preſervation of the Kingdom of *Naples*, it was very convenient the King ſhould be poſſeſſed of the Port of *Livorno*; for when he had altered, as he deſigned, and was to be hoped, the Government of *Genoa*, he would then, in a manner, be Maſter of all the Sea Coaſt from *Marſeilles* to *Naples*.

A. D. 1495.

CERTAIN it is that theſe Reaſons had ſome Weight with *Charles*, who was not of himſelf capable of chuſing for the beſt. But he was much more moved by the Sup-

A. D. 1495. plications and Tears of the *Piſans*; who, in great Numbers, preſented themſelves before him, with their Wives and little Children, and falling ſometimes proſtrate at his Feet, and ſometimes, with miſerable Cries, telling their Caſe even to the meaneſt of the Courtiers and Soldiers, with moſt bitter Lamentations, and miſerable Wailings, deplored their future Calamities, the implacable Hatred of the *Florentines*, and the entire Deſolation of their Country, which they ſhould not have Cauſe to lament if the King himſelf had not given them their Liberty; for believing that the Words of the moſt Chriſtian King of *France* were Words firm and ſtable, they had been the more emboldened to provoke the Enmity of the *Florentines*. With theſe Complaints and Exclamations they melted the Hearts of the very private Men at Arms, the Archers of the Army, and many alſo of the *Swiſs*, who flocked in great Numbers, in a tumultuous Manner, to the King; and *Salazart*, one of the Penſioners, in the Name of the reſt, addreſſed him, earneſtly ſolliciting that, for the Honour of his own Perſon, for the Glory

Glory of the Crown of *France*, for the Comfort of ſo many of his Servants, who were ready at all times to lay down their Lives for him, and who counſelled him with more Fidelity than thoſe who were corrupted with the Money of the *Florentines*, he would not deprive the *Piſans* of that Benefit he had himſelf procured them; and that Want of Money might not induce him to commit ſo infamous an Action, bid him rather take their Collars, Plate, and ſtop their Penſions and Pay. This Tumult had got to ſuch a Head, that a private Archer was bold enough to threaten the Cardinal of *St. Malo*; others talked in high Terms to the Marſhal *Gié*, and the Preſident *Gannay*, who, they knew, counſelled this Reſtitution. Such a Variety of Counſels ſo diſtracted the King's Mind, that he kept the Affair in Suſpenſe, and was at a Loſs how to act: Sometimes he renewed his Promiſes to the *Piſans*, never to give them up; then he would ſend to the *Florentine* Miniſters, who waited at *Lucca*, to let them know that, what for weighty Reaſons he could not do then, he would perform as ſoon as he arrived at A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. *Aſti*, whither he deſired the Republic would ſend their Ambaſſadors. He left *Piſa*, after changing the Governor of the Citadel, and placing therein a ſufficient Garriſon, as he did in the Caſtles of the other Towns; and being of himſelf very anxious to get Poſſeſſion of *Genoa*, and at the ſame time inſtigated by the Cardinals of *San Piero in Vincola*, and *Fregoſo*, *Objetto dal Fieſco*, and many other outlawed Perſons, who gave him great Hopes that with much Eaſe a Revolution might be brought about, he ſent with them from *Sarzana* on that Enterprize Monſ. *Filippo*, with a Hundred and Twenty Lances, and Five Hundred Foot, who were juſt arrived by Sea from *France*, contrary to the Advice of his whole Council, who blamed the Diminution of the Army: He alſo gave Orders that the Men at Arms of the *Vitelli* which were not come up Time enough to join him, ſhould follow them; that a Body of Soldiers ſent him by the Duke of *Savoy*, with ſome Exiles ſhould enter the Weſtern *Riviera*, and for the Fleet, now reduced to Seven Gallies, two Galleons, and two ſmall

ſmall Veſſels, under *Miolans*, to go and aſ- *A. D.* 1495.
ſiſt the Land-Forces.

In the mean Time the Avant-Guard, conducted by Marſhal *Gié*, was come to *Pontremoli*, where the Townſmen diſmiſſed the Garriſon they entertained of Three Hundred Men, and, at the Perſuaſion of *Trivulzi*, ſurrendered on Condition they ſhould not be moleſted in their Perſons or Effects. But the Capitulation did them no Service, for the *Swiſs*, to revenge the Death of about Forty of their Comrades killed by thoſe of *Pontremoli*, on account of a Diſpute riſen by Chance, when the King's Army paſſed thro' the *Lunigiana*, entering furiouſly into the Town plundered and burnt it, and cruelly put all the Inhabitants to the Sword.

The Confederates, in the mean Time, were buſy in getting together their Army in the *Parmeſan*, which conſiſted of Two Thouſand Five Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Thouſand Foot, and above Two Thouſand light Horſe; the moſt of theſe laſt were of *Albania*, and other adjacent Pro-

A. D. 1495. Provinces of *Greece*, who had been brought into *Italy* by the *Venetians*, and retained their own Country Name of *Stradiotti*: The principal Part of this Army conſiſted of the Troops of that Republic; for thoſe of *Lodovico*, who had employed almoſt all his Forces againſt *Novara*, did not exceed a Quarter of the Whole. *Franceſco Gonzaga*, Marquis of *Mantoua*, a very young Prince, from whom, on Account of his Valour and Thirſt after Glory much more was expected than is from one of his Age, was declared Governor General of the *Venetian* Forces, amongſt whom were many Officers of great Renown. *Luca Piſano*, and *Marchione Treviſano*, both Men of great Weight in the Senate, were ſent as Proveditors. The Duke of *Milan*'s Troops were commanded by Count *Gajazzo*, who had alſo the Title of Governor, and was *Lodovico*'s principal Favourite, but in the Knowledge of military Affairs no Way equal to his Father *Roberto da San Severino*, for this Count acquired the Name of being rather a cautious than enterprizing Officer. With him was appointed Commiſſary *Franceſco Bernardo Viſconti*,

ti, Head of the *Ghibelline* Faction in *Milan*, and, therefore, oppoſite to *Gianjacopo Trivulzi*. A Council of War being held, by the Generals and principal Officers of the Army, after ſome Debates whether it would not be proper to march to *Fornuovo*, a ſmall Village ſituated at the Foot of the Mountains, it was reſolved, conſidering the Narrowneſs of that Place, to advance only, within three Miles of it, to the Abbey of *Ghiaruola*, which, being in an open Country, might, perhaps, entice the *French* to come into the Plain. This Reſolution gave an Opportunity for the King's Van-Guard to lodge in *Fornuovo*, for it had paſſed the Mountain long before the reſt of the Army, which had been retarded on account of the Difficulty in moving the heavy Artillery over the rough *Appennine*; and the Difficulty would have been greater, if the *Swiſs*, deſirous to make Amends for the Injury done to the King's Honour in the Sack of *Pontremoli*, had not with immenſe Labour given their Aſſiſtance.

A. D. 1495.

As

A. D. 1495.

As ſoon as the Van arrived at *Fornuovo*, the Marſhal *de Gié* ſent a Trumpet to the *Italian* Camp, to demand, in the Name of the King, a Paſſage for the Army, which intending to hurt no body, and to pay a reaſonable Price for Proviſions, was returning that Way into *France*. At the ſame time he ſent a Party of Horſe, to get Intelligence of the Condition of the Country and the Enemy's Army; but they were ſoon put to Flight by ſome *Stradiotti*, ſent againſt them by *Franceſco Gonzaga*: And it was thought, that if the *Italians* had then attacked the *French* Camp they might have eaſily routed their Van, which muſt have prevented the Royal Army from advancing. They had much the ſame Opportunity offered the next Day, notwithſtanding that the Marſhal, appriſed of the Danger, was retired a little higher up the Mountain. But the *Italian* Commanders had not Reſolution to march and attack them, deterred by the Strength of the Enemy's Situation, or imagining the Van to be more numerous, and the reſt of the Army nearer than it was: Beſides, it is certain

tain that at that Inſtant the *Venetians*, by delaying to join their Troops in their Camp at *Ghiaruola*, were not yet all aſſembled; which makes it manifeſt that if *Charles* had not loitered without any Occaſion at *Siena*, *Piſa*, and many other Places, he might have made his Way without Impediment or Oppoſition. Having at laſt joined his Van, he lodged with his whole Army the next Day at *Fornuovo*. The Confederates never thought it likely that the King, with an Army ſo inferior to theirs, would have attempted to paſs the *Appennine* by the direct Road; and therefore they at firſt imagined his Deſign was to leave the moſt of his Men at *Piſa*, and with the Remainder embark on board his Fleet: And, even when they heard of his having begun his March they fancied that, to avoid them, he intended to paſs through the Village of *Valditara*, and over the Mountain of *Cento Croce*, which is rugged and difficult, and ſo deſcend into the *Tortoneſe*, in Hopes of meeting the Duke of *Orleans* in the Neighbourhood of *Aleſſandria*. But when they were convinced that he directed his March to *Fornuovo*, the *Italian* Army,

A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. Army, whoſe Spirits hitherto had been kept up by the comfortable Speeches of ſo many General Officers, and by the Report of the ſmall Number of the Enemy, began now to be a little diſcouraged: They conſidered the Bravery of the *French* Lances, and the Intrepidity of the *Swiſs*, to whom without Compariſon the *Italian* Infantry was inferior, their Dexterity in the Management of the Artillery, and (what moſt affects Men when they have taken a different Impreſſion) the unexpected Courage of the *French* in approaching them with ſuch unequal Forces. Theſe Conſiderations had damped the Minds even of the Officers, and put them on conſulting amongſt themſelves what Anſwer to give the Trumpet ſent by the Marſhal. It ſeeming very dangerous to ſome that the Fate of *Italy* ſhould be left to the Diſcretion of Fortune: But to others it appeared infamous that the *Italian* Soldiery ſhould betray ſuch Fear of a *French* Army ſo much inferior in Number, as to ſuffer them to make their Way, before their Eyes, without Oppoſition. The Opinions being different, after many Diſputes, it was agreed

to

to give Notice at *Milan* of the King's Requeſt, and then to act as the Duke and the Ambaſſadors of the Allies, who reſided there, ſhould unanimouſly direct. The Duke and the Miniſter of the *Venetians*, whoſe States lay neareſt the Danger, were both of the ſame Mind, that it was not prudent to block up the Road to a departing Enemy, but, on the contrary, according to the Proverb, make them a Silver Bridge: Otherwiſe it might ſo happen, (as could be proved by numberleſs Examples) that Neceſſity, converted into Deſpair, might open itſelf a bloody Paſſage through an Army indiſcreetly offering to make an Oppoſition. But the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, whoſe Sovereigns ran no Riſque, ſaid, Fortune was to be tried, and inſiſted ſtrenuouſly, almoſt in the Nature of a Proteſt, on not permitting the King to paſs, and letting ſlip ſuch an Opportunity of defeating his Army; for, if it paſſed ſafely, the Affairs of *Italy* would remain in the ſame perilous Situation, and even expoſed to greater Dangers than before: For the King of *France*, by being in Poſſeſſion of *Aſti* and *Novara*, could command all *Piedmont*; and having behind him

A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. him the Kingdom of *France*, a Kingdom ſo powerful and rich, the *Swiſs* his Neighbours, always diſpoſed to enliſt under him in what Numbers he required, and finding himſelf increaſed in Reputation and Spirits, if the Allied Army, ſo much ſuperior, ſhould ſo vilely give Way, he would continue to oppreſs *Italy* with greater Fierceneſs: That his Sovereigns muſt of Neceſſity alter their Reſolutions, if the *Italians* would not, or had not Courage to fight the *French*. But the ſafeſt Opinion prevailing in the Council, it was reſolved to write to *Venice*, where they knew the Senate would be of the ſame Mind. But all Conſultations were needleſs: For the Generals, after writing to *Milan*, conſidered that an Anſwer could not return in Time, and that it would be an infamous Reflection on the *Italian* Soldiery if they permitted the *French* a free Paſſage; ſo diſmiſſing the Trumpet without any poſitive Anſwer, they determined to attack the Enemy as they advanced, and both the *Venetian* Proveditors concurred with the reſt in this Determination, tho' *Treviſano* with greater Readineſs than his Colleague.

On

A. D. 1495.

ON the other hand, the *French* came on full of Arrogance, and Reſolution; and, as they had hitherto found no Reſiſtance in *Italy*, were fully perſuaded that the Enemy would not offer to oppoſe them, and, if they did, would ſoon be put to Flight; ſo deſpicable an Opinion they entertained of the *Italian* Arms! Yet when, from the Deſcent of the Mountain, they diſcovered the Encampment, obſerved the infinite Number of Tents and Pavilions, with the vaſt Tract of Land they covered (for, according to the *Italian* Cuſtom, the Camp was formed on as much Ground as would have ranged the whole Army in Battle Array) and the great Number of their Enemies, who would hardly have come ſo near them, had they not been determined to fight, their Arrogance ſo far cooled, as to wiſh they might receive the happy News that the *Italians* were content to allow them a free Paſſage, and ſo much the more when they found themſelves diſappointed of the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Orleans*. That Duke, according to Orders, had promiſed to be on

A. D. 1495. the Third of *July* at *Piacenza*, with all the Forces he could draw together to meet the King: But on freſh Notice that *Sforza*'s Army, which oppoſed him, conſiſted of Nine Hundred Men at Arms, Twelve Hundred light Horſe, and Five Thouſand Foot, he had now ſent Word, that it was impoſſible to advance without certain Danger before ſo powerful a Force, eſpecially as he had been obliged to diminiſh his own Army by leaving Garriſons in *Aſti* and *Novara*. This Diſappointment put the King under a Neceſſity of altering his Meaſures. Monſ. *Philippe D'Argenton* was lately come from *Venice*, where he had been Ambaſſador: Before his Departure he had promiſed *Piſano* and *Treviſano*, the then declared Proveditors, to uſe his beſt Endeavours to diſpoſe the King to Peace. *Charles* now commiſſioned him to ſend a Trumpet to theſe Proveditors, with a Letter, intimating that he had ſomething to impart to them relating to the common Welfare. They agreed to meet him next Morning, at a convenient Place between the two Armies. But *Charles*, either for want of Proviſions in the Situation he was

in,

in, or for ſome other Reaſon, changing his Mind, determined not to wait in that Place for the Reſult of this Meeting. *A. D.* 1495.

THE Fronts of the two Camps were not Three Miles aſunder, both extended along the Bank of the River *Taro*; which deſerves rather the Name of a Torrent than of a River: It riſes in the *Appennine* Mountains, and, after running ſome time through a ſmall Vale ſituated between two Hills, ſpreads in the great Plain of *Lombardy*, and then empties itſelf into the *Po*. On the Right of theſe two Hills, down to the Banks of the River, the Allied Army was poſted: This Side was preferred by the Generals to the Left, where the Enemies were to march, to prevent them from turning towards *Parma*; becauſe that City, being full of different Factions, was ſuſpected by the Duke of *Milan*; and more ſo ſince the King had obtained Leave from the *Florentines*, even from the Time he was at *Aſti*, to take *Franceſco Secco* into his Service, whoſe Daughter was married into the noble and powerful Family of the *Torelli* in the *Parmeſan*.

A. D. 1495.

THE Camp of the Allies was fortified with Ditches and Ramparts, and abounded with Artillery, under which the *French* could not avoid paſſing in their Way to *Aſti*, for as they were to croſs the *Taro* near *Fornuovo*, that River only would ſeparate the two Armies. The *French* had but little Reſt all that Night; for the *Italians* ordered the *Stradiotti* to ride up to their very Camp, and they were ſo diſturbed with theſe Alarums that they were often calling to Arms. There fell alſo a ſudden and very heavy Rain, mixed with terrible Lightening, and many horrible Thunderbolts, which ſeemed to prognoſticate ſome fatal Calamity: But the *French* were much more terrified than the *Italians*, not only for being in the midſt of Mountains and Enemies, and in a Place where any unlucky Accident happening they had no Hopes of ſaving themſelves, and therefore, labouring under much greater Difficulties, had greater Reaſon to fear, but alſo becauſe it was thought that whenever Heaven manifeſted its Anger, it was on ſome grand Occaſion, and therefore ſeemed

to

to point rather to that Part where was pre- *A. D.* 1495.
ſent the Perſon of a King of ſuch great Power and Dignity. The Morning following, which was the 6th of *July*, the *French* began at Day-break to paſs the River. The greateſt Part of the Artillery preceded the Van, which the King ſuppoſed was to bear the greateſt Shock, and had therefore placed in it Three Hundred and Fifty *French* Lances, *Trivulzi* with his own Hundred Lances, and Three Thouſand *Swiſs*, who were the Sinews and Hopes of the Army; and with them on Foot *Engilberto*, Brother to the Duke of *Cleves*, and the Bailiff of *Dijon*, who had inliſted them: To theſe he added Three Hundred Archers on Foot, ſome Croſs-Bows of his Guards on Horſeback, and the beſt Part of his Foot. Next to the Van followed the main Body, in the midſt of which the King was ſeated, in full Armour, on a mettleſome Courſer; near him rode Monſ. *de la Tremouille*, an Officer of great Renown in the Kingdom of *France*, who with his Counſel and Authority was to rule that Part of the Army:

A. D. 1495. The Rear-Guard came after, conducted by Count *de Foix*, and laſtly the Carriages. But *Charles*, ſtill deſirous of Peace, whilſt his Troops were in Motion, ordered again *Argenton* ro treat with the *Venetian* Proveditors. But on the Motion of the *French*, all the *Italian* Army having put themſelves in Arms, and the Generals being determined to fight, they were ſo far advanced that the Vicinity of the two Armies did not admit of Time, nor ſo much as a Place for a Conference.

THE light Horſe began to ſkirmiſh, and the Artillery to roar from all Parts, all the *Italians* were come out of their Camp, and were extending their Squadrons along the Banks of the *Taro* in Order of Battle. The *French*, notwithſtanding, continued their March, Part on the ſtoney Beach, for the Plain between was too narrow to contain their Squadrons, and Part on the Declivity of the Hill. As ſoon as the Van of the *French* was advanced over againſt the Enemy's Camp, the Marquis of *Mantoua* with a Body of Six Hundred Men at Arms, who were the Flower of the Allied Army,

a

a large Band of *Stradiotti*, ſome light Horſe, and Five Thouſand Foot, croſſed the River beyond the Rear of the *French*, having before left on the Banks *Antonio da Montefeltro*, a natural Son of *Federigo* late Duke of *Urbino*, with a numerous Squadron, with Orders to paſs and come to his Aſſiſtance if called, or to reinforce others on Occaſion. He commanded another Body of light Horſe, as ſoon as the Action began, to attack the Enemy in Flank, and the reſt of the *Stradiotti* to paſs the River at *Fornuovo*, and aſſault the Baggage, which for want of Men, or by Advice, as was reported, of *Trivulzi*, was left expoſed without any Guard to any one that attacked it. At another Place Count *Galeazzo*, in order to fall on the Van, croſſed the *Taro* with Four Hundred Men at Arms and Two Thouſand Foot; amongſt the firſt was a Company belonging to Don *Alfonſo d'Eſte*, whoſe Father would not permit him to go in Perſon to the Army; he left alſo Count *Annibale Bentivoglio*, with Two Hundred Men at Arms, on the Banks, with Orders to paſs the River and come to his Succour, if he ſhould be called. A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. The Proveditors inſiſted that two large Companies of Men at Arms, and a Thouſand Foot, ſhould be left to guard the Camp, as a Body of Reſerve againſt all Accidents.

Battle of the *Taro.* THE King obſerving ſo great a Force falling on his Rear, of which his Officers had not been aware, turned his Back to the Van, and with the main Body marched to the Aſſiſtance of his Rear, advancing in ſo much Haſte at the Head of one of his Squadrons, that when the Battle began he found himſelf in the Front of the Enemy, and was amongſt the firſt that engaged. Some have related that the Marquis of *Mantoua* paſſed the *Taro* in a Sort of Diſorder, occaſioned by the Height of the Banks, and by Trees, Stumps and Shrubs, with which the Sides of Torrents are commonly overſpread; and others add, that his Foot, by theſe Difficulties, and the Swelling of the River in the laſt Night's Rain, entered the Battle too late, and that ſome did not paſs at all. But be that as it will, the Aſſault given by the Marquis was very reſolute and furious, and was anſwered

ſwered with equal Fierceneſs and Valour. A. D. 1495
The Squadrons from all Parts in charging mingled one among another, contrary to the Cuſtom of the *Italians*, who uſed to fight Squadron againſt Squadron, and when one was tired, or began to give way, another took its Place, without coming to a general Engagement till the laſt, when alltogether formed a large Squadron; ſo that moſt commonly a Battle laſted a whole Day, without any great Slaughter, and often, Night coming on, the Armies ſeparated, without any certain Victory on either Side. The Lances being broke with the Fall of many Men at Arms and many Horſes in both Armies, every one began with the ſame Fury to make Uſe of Iron Maces, Ponyards, and other ſhort Arms; the Horſes alſo with Kicks, Bites, and Shocks, fighting as well as the Men. In the Beginning of the Fight the *Italians* certainly gave very ſignal Proofs of their Courage, and the Marquis in particular, who, being followed by a ſtout Band of young Gentlemen, and by the Spezzate Lances (theſe are Soldiers of Valour, not belonging to any particular Company, and

in

A. D. 1495. in ſeparate Pay) encountering all Danger, omitted nothing that became a moſt courageous General. The *French* ſuſtained with great Bravery this fierce Attack, but being overpowered by ſo great an Inequality of Numbers, they manifeſtly began to give way, not without endangering the King; for the Baſtard of *Bourbon*, though he fought very gallantly, was taken Priſoner within a few Yards of him; and as his Majeſty had imprudently brought himſelf into imminent Peril without a proper Guard, or with ſuch Order as was neceſſary for ſo great a Prince, the Marquis thought he had as fine an Opportunity of taking the King, and, therefore, with many of his People, made all his Efforts to approach him, againſt whom *Charles*, with a Few about him, ſhewing great Boldneſs, defended himſelf nobly, tho' more by the Fierceneſs of his Horſe than by their Aſſiſtance. In the midſt of ſo great a Danger, he did not omit what Fears moſt commonly ſuggeſt in ſuch difficult Situations; for finding himſelf abandoned by almoſt all his People, he had recourſe to heavenly Aſſiſtance, and made a Vow to *St. Dennis* and

St. Martin, reputed particular Protectors of the Kingdom of *France*, that if he got safe with his Army into *Piedmont*, as soon as he reached his own Country, he would visit and bestow very costly Gifts on the Churches dedicated to their Names, one near *Paris*, the other at *Tours*; and that every Year he would, with the most solemn Feasts and Sacrifices, give Testimony of his Requests being granted by their Intercession. After making these Vows, his Vigour increasing, he fought with more Courage than his Strength or Constitution would permit. But the King's Danger had so much inflamed those who were the nearest, that they all flew to cover their royal Master with their Persons, and kept back the *Italians*, till the main Battle, which had remained behind, came up, a Squadron of which charged so fiercely on the Enemy's Flank, that it repressed pretty much their Fury; as did also the Death of *Ridolfo Gonzaga*, Uncle to the Marquis of *Mantoua*, a very experienced Officer; in whose Face, whilst he was acting the Part of an excellent Captain, comforting and rallying his Men, and running from Place to Place where A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. where he ſaw the leaſt Diſorder, on lifting up his Helmet, a *Frenchman* thruſt a Dagger: He fell from his Horſe, and in the Confuſion and Tumult, amidſt ſo cloſe a Multitude of very mettleſome Horſes, could receive no Help, and falling amongſt Men and Horſes was rather ſuffocated by the Crowd, than killed by the Enemy. He was the more to be pitied, becauſe both in the Council the Day before, and that very ſame Morning, judging it imprudent to put ſo much in the Power of Fortune, without any urgent Neceſſity, againſt the Inclination of his Nephew, he had adviſed to avoid a Battle.

The Fight, by ſo many different Accidents, varying, and no Advantage of any Importance appearing on either Side, it was more than ever doubtful who would conquer; ſo that Fear and Hope being in an Equilibrium, they fought with incredible Ardor on both Sides, each Individual preſuming the Victory depended on his particular Strength and Valour. The *French* were animated by the Preſence and Danger of their Sovereign: For that Nation

tion was ever remarkable for adoring their Kings, and revering them as ſomething Divine, and they were in ſuch a Situation that they had no Hopes of Safety but in a Victory. Several Motives alſo encouraged the *Italians*; the Hopes of Plunder, the Bravery and Example of their General, their proſperous Succeſs in the Beginning of the Action, and the great Number of their Army, which aſſured them of being always ſuccoured, which was not the Caſe with the *French*; for they were all either engaged, or expected every Moment to be attacked. But, as every one knows, in all human Actions the Power of Fortune is very great, and in military Affairs more particularly ſo, but immenſe, infinite, and inexpreſſible in Battles; where an Order not well underſtood, or ill executed; where Raſhneſs, or a vain Word even from the meaneſt Centinel, and innumerable other Accidents, not poſſible to be foreſeen, or prevented by a General, often unexpectedly ariſe, and, in a Moment, transfer the Victory to thoſe who ſeemed conquered. Thus Fortune, at this Inſtant, conſiſtent with her uſual Cuſtom, effected what the A. D. 1495.

Courage

A. D. 1495. Courage of Men, or the Force of Arms, hitherto had not been able to obtain: For the *Stradiotti*, who were ſent to attack the Carriages, as related, began to ſeize them without any Difficulty; And ſome attended to carry off Mules, ſome Horſes, ſome Harneſs, to the other Side of the River. At the Sight of ſo much Plunder, not only the *Stradiotti* who were appointed to attack the *French* in Flank, but even thoſe who were engaged in the Battle, ſeeing their Comrades returning to their Quarters loaded with Spoils, incited by a Thirſt of Lucre ran towards the Carriages to partake of the Prey, and their Example was followed by Numbers of both Horſe and Foot, who in whole Companies, on the ſame Account, quitted the Battle. Wherefore the *Italians*, not only deprived of their intended Succour, but the Number of the Combatants being diminiſhed by ſo great a Diſorder, and *Antonio da Montefeltro* not moving becauſe, by the Death of *Ridolfo Gonzaga*, who had the ſole Charge to call him in caſe of Need, none ſent for him, were obliged to give way.

THE

A. D. 1495.

THE *French* now began to gain Ground apace, and nothing more ſupported the *Italians*, who viſibly declined, than the Valour of the Marquis, who courageouſly fighting, ſtill ſtopped the Force of the Enemy, animating his Men with his Example, and with his ardent Speeches, encouraging them rather to loſe their Lives than their Honour. But it was not poſſible for a Handful of Men to reſiſt ſuch Numbers, which multiplied continually upon them from all Parts. So, after a great many had been killed and wounded, eſpecially of the Marquis's own Regiment, they were obliged to fly in order to repaſs the River, which being ſwelled not only by the Rains that had fallen in the Night, but alſo by a Storm with Hail and Thunder, which aroſe while they were in the Action, the Paſſage was rendered very difficult. The *French* briſkly puſhed them to the Banks with great Violence, and with perpetual Slaughter, without making any Priſoners, and without ſtopping a Minute to ſtrip or plunder. On the contrary Voices were continually heard, crying, Companions! Remem-

A. D. 1495. Remember *Guignegate! Guignegate* is a Village in *Picardy*, near *Terouenne*, where in the latter Years of *Lewis* XI. the *French* Army, already victorious over *Maximilian*, in a Battle againſt the King of the *Romans*, was afterwards routed by breaking their Ranks, and falling to Plunder.

WHILST the Battle was fighting with ſo much Bravery on this Side, the Van of the *French* preſented itſelf with ſuch Reſolution againſt Count *Gajazzo*, who with Part of his Horſe was come to attack them, that the *Italians* were greatly terrified, eſpecially when they ſaw none of their People move to their Aſſiſtance, and they were broke, as one may ſay, by themſelves; for after ſome few had been killed, and amongſt the reſt *Giovanni Piccinino*, and *Galeazzo da Corregio*, they fled back towards their main Squadron. Marſhal *Gié* obſerving that, beſides the Count's Squadron, there was on the Banks, on the other Side of the River, another Colonel with his Men at Arms in Order of Battle, would not permit a Purſuit; for which he was afterwards by ſome commended

for

for his Prudence, by others, who, perhaps, *A. D.* 1495. conſidered leſs the Reaſon, than the Event, rather taxed with Cowardice than praiſed for Circumſpection. For no one doubted but that, if he had followed the Enemy, both the Count and his Colonel would have fled, and filled the reſt, on that Side the River, with ſuch a Terror, that it muſt have been almoſt impoſſible to prevent their Flight. For when the Marquis of *Mantoua*, after the reſt had fled, with a good Party of his Men, whom he kept cloſe and in as good Order as he was able, had repaſſed the River, he found thoſe on the Banks in Confuſion, every one employed in ſaving himſelf and his Baggage; and the great Road, that leads from *Piacenza* to *Parma*, full of Men, Horſes and Carriages, moving towards *Parma*. This Diſorder was partly remedied by the Marquis's Preſence and Authority, who immeately ſet about recalling and putting them in Order; but more ſo, by the Arrival of Count *Pitigliano*, who, during the univerſal Confuſion on both Sides, taking an Opportunity to make his Eſcape, fled to the *Italian* Army, and raiſed their Spirits by

A. D. 1495. comforting and aſſuring them that the Enemy was more diſheartened and in greater Fear than themſelves. It was generally believed that, had it not been for his Aſſurances, the whole Camp would with great Terror have broke up then, or, at fartheſt, the Night following. All the *Italians* retired into their Camp, excepting thoſe who, terrified at the Confuſion and Tumult (as on ſuch Occaſions will happen) or frightened at the Swelling of the River, had fled, and were diſperſed in different Places, many of whom, falling in with *French* Parties, were cut to Pieces.

The King, with the reſt of the Army, joined his Van, and conſulted his Officers about paſſing the River immediately, and attacking the Enemy's Camp. *Trivulzi* was for it, as was *Camillo Vitelli*, who had ſent his Regiment after thoſe who were marching on the Enterprize of *Genoa*, and, with a few Horſe, had followed the King in order to be preſent at the Battle. But it was more earneſtly inſiſted on by *Franceſco Secco*, who deſired it might be obſerved that the high Road, which appeared

peared at a Diſtance, was full of Horſe and Foot, who muſt either be the Enemy flying to *Parma*, or having firſt fled now returning to their Camp. But the Paſſage of the River was dangerous, and the Army being fatigued, Part in fighting and Part by ſtanding on their Arms, it was reſolved, at the Inſtance of the *French* Officers, to encamp: So they went above a Mile from the Place where they had fought, to a Villa called *Medeſa*, ſituated on a Hill, and there formed their Camp, without any Diviſion or Order, and with no ſmall Inconveniency, for a great Number of their Carriages had been plundered by the Enemy. A. D. 1495.

SUCH was the Battle between the *French* and *Italians* on the River *Taro*, memorable for its being the firſt that, after a long Series of Years, had been fought in *Italy* with Slaughter and Bloodſhed; for hitherto very few were killed in a Battle. The Loſs of the *French* was not Two Hundred Men; but that of the *Italians* was above Three Thouſand, amongſt which were Three Hundred Men at Arms, *Rinuccio*

A. D. 1495. *Farneſe*, a Commander of the *Venetians*, and many other Perſons of Note. *Bernardino del Montone*, another Commander of the *Venetians* was, by the Blow of a Mace on his Helmet, left for Dead. He was an Officer more regarded for the Fame of *Baccio del Montone*, his Grandfather, one of the firſt who gave Luſtre to the *Italian* Soldiery, than for his own Condition or Merit. So much Bloodſhed ſeemed the more aſtoniſhing to the *Italians*, as the Battle did not laſt above an Hour, and was fought with ſhort Arms, little Uſe being made of the Artillery. Each Side laboured to obtain the Glory of the Victory, and the Honour of the Day; the *Italians* aſſerting their Camp and Carriages were ſafe, while the *French* loſt many of theirs, and amongſt other Things ſome of the King's Pavilions had been carried off. They alſo boaſted that the *French* would have been cut to Pieces, had not their own People, who had been appointed to reinforce the Battle, fallen to Plunder; which indeed was not contradicted by the *French*. The *Venetians*, attributing to themſelves the Glory, ordered all over their Dominions, and

and particularly at *Venice*, Illuminations, Fire-works, and other Marks of Joy. Nor were there wanting afterwards private Perſons who imitated the public Example: For on the Tomb of *Marchione Treviſano*, in the Church of the *Minims*, after his Death, were engraved theſe Words: *On the River* Taro *he fought proſperouſly againſt* Charles *King of* France. The Victory, nevertheleſs, was univerſally adjudged to the *French*, on account of the great Diſproportion of the Slain, of their driving the Enemy on the other Side the River, and becauſe their Paſſage was no longer obſtructed, which was all they contended for, the Battle being fought on no other Account. *A. D.* 1495.

THE Day following the King remained in the ſame Camp, and, thro' the Means of *Argenton*, ſome Parley was had with the Enemy, and a Truce was agreed on till Night. On one hand, *Charles* wanted to ſecure a ſafe Return; for he knew that many of the *Italians* had not engaged; and ſeeing them keep their Camp, he thought ſo long a March through the

A. D. 1495. Dutchy of *Milan*, with the Enemy in his Rear, would be dangerous: On the other, he was at a Loſs how to reſolve for Want of good Counſel; it being his Cuſtom to deſpiſe the beſt, and often take the worſt, in his Deliberations. The *Italians* were no leſs undetermined; for though they were at firſt greatly terrified, yet the ſame Night the Battle was fought ſome Propoſals were made, and greatly encouraged by Count *Pitigliano*, for aſſaulting in the Night the Camp of the *French*, who were lodged without any Order or Fortification: But this Counſel, after ſome Debates, was rejected by many as too dangerous. It was currently reported all over *Italy*, at that Time, that the Troops of *Lodovico Sforza* had his ſecret Orders not to fight: For the *Venetian* Army being ſo powerful in his Dominions, it was thought he might have had a greater Dread of their Victory than of that of the *French*, to whom he wiſhed neither Victory nor Defeat, and that, to ſecure himſelf againſt all Events, he had a Mind to keep his Army entire; which occaſioned the Loſs of the Battle to the *Italians*. This Opinion was

ſupported

ſupported by the Marquis of *Mantoua*, and by the *Venetian* Commanders, to keep up their own Reputation, and was agreeable to all thoſe who deſired to have the *Italian* Arms in good Eſtimation. But I heard a Perſon of great Gravity, who was in *Milan* at that Time, and in the Secret of Affairs, confute this Report with great Warmth. He affirmed that almoſt all *Lodovico*'s Forces were at the Siege of *Novara*, and that thoſe he had at the *Taro* were inſignificant as to the gaining the Victory, which the Allied Army would have obtained if their own Diſorders had not hurt them more than the Want of a greater Number of Men. For many of the *Venetians* did not engage, and though Count *Gajazzo* ſent only a Part of his Troops to the Battle, and thoſe with a ſeeming Unwillingneſs, that might proceed from his knowing that the Van of the *French* was too ſtrong, and therefore it was too dangerous to truſt the Whole to Fortune. Thoſe who well knew the Count would have ſooner wondered to ſee him undertake a bold Action than a cautious one. Beſides, *Sforza*'s Troops were not altogether uſeleſs; for, though they did A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. not fight, they prevented the Van from reinforcing the King, which put him under a Neceſſity of ſuſtaining the whole Weight of the Battle, with the ſmalleſt and weakeſt Part of his Forces, to the great Peril of his own Perſon. Nor is this Opinion, if I miſtake not, founded more on Authority than on Reaſon; for if *Lodovico* was ſo inclined, would he not have ordered his Generals to diſſuade any Obſtruction to the Paſſage of the *French*, conſidering that, if they were routed, his own Troops would have equally ſuffered by being ſo near the Enemy, though they had not joined them in the Battle? And by what Kind of Reaſoning, Conſideration, or Experience of Things could he promiſe himſelf that in the Battle Fortune would be ſo equal, that the King ſhould neither defeat, nor be defeated? Nor would the Battle have been fought againſt the Advice of the Duke's Generals; becauſe the *Venetian* Troops, ſent into that State only for his Safety and Security, would not have diſagreed with his Officers.

CHARLES

A. D. 1495.

CHARLES the next Morning decamped with his Army before Day-break, without Sound of Trumpet, to conceal, as much as poſſible, his Departure. Nor did the Allied Army follow him that Day; which indeed was not in their Power had they intended it, on account of the Waters in the River, for more heavy Rains had fallen that Night, and made it impaſſable the beſt Part of the Day. Near Sun-ſet only Count *Gajazzo*, though not without Danger, the Torrent running very ſtrong, croſſed the River with Two Hundred light Horſe, and followed the Enemy, who kept the high Road to *Piacenza*: He harraſſed them pretty much, eſpecially the Day following: But the *French*, although fatigued, went on in good Order, being plentifully ſupplied with all Neceſſaries by the neighbouring Villages, partly out of Fear of being plundered, and partly by the Means of *Trivulzi*, who, riding before the light Horſe for this Purpoſe, prevailed on ſome with Threats, and others with his Authority, which was great in that State, and exceedingly ſo with the *Guelfs*. The Day

A. D. 1495. Day after the Departure of the *French* the Allied Army followed them; but none of the Commanders, and particularly the *Venetian* Proveditors, cared to run any farther Riſque, and therefore kept at a Diſtance, without giving them the leaſt Diſturbance, which they might eaſily have done. For the ſecond Day the *French* encamped on the other Side the River *Trebbia*, a little beyond *Piacenza*; but, for Conveniency of Quarters, Two Hundred Lances, the *Swiſs*, and moſt of the Artillery, lay on this Side the River, between the *Trebbia* and the City of *Piacenza*. That Night the Rain ſwelled the Waters to ſuch a Degree that, notwithſtanding all Endeavours, it was not poſſible for either Horſe or Foot to paſs till late the next Day, nor then without a great deal of Difficulty, even when the Waters began to fall. Yet they were not attacked, either by the Army, which kept at a Diſtance, or by Count * *Gajazzo*, who had

* *Giovio* accuſes Count *Gajazzo* and his Brother *Fracaſſa* of Treachery, alledging they might have greatly moleſted the *French*, inſtead of which they ſupplied them with Proviſions at *Tortona*, where they kiſſed the King's Hand.

had entered *Piacenza* to keep the People from revolting, which he ſuſpected, and not without ſome Reaſon. For if *Charles* had followed the Counſel of *Trivulzi*, and with diſplayed Colours proclaimed *Franceſco*, the young Son of *Giovanni Galeazzo*, in all Probability that would have produced a Revolution in the Dutchy. So agreeable was the Name of the Perſon they looked upon as their legitimate Sovereign, ſo odious that of the Uſurper, and of ſuch Importance the Credit and Friendſhip of *Trivulzi!* But the King, intent only on getting forwards, would not give Ear to any thing of that Kind, and continued his March with all Speed, under no ſmall Diſtreſs after the firſt Days for Want of Proviſions, becauſe as he proceeded he found the Towns better guarded, *Lodovico Sforza* having a good Number of Horſe, and Twelve Hundred *German* Foot, detached from the Siege of *Novara*, Part in *Tortona*, under *Gaſparo da San Severino*, ſurnamed *Fracaſſa*, and ſome in *Aleſſandria*. A. D. 1495.

THE

Hand. *Bembo* ſays only that the Count, by keeping at ſo great a Diſtance from the Enemy, gave them an Opportunity of getting away without Loſs.

A. D. 1495.

THE *French*, after paſſing the *Trebbia*, were harraſſed in the Rear by Count *Gajazzo*, who had added to his light Horſe One Hundred *German* Foot of the Garriſon of *Piacenza*: For the *Venetian* Proveditors, admoniſhed by the Riſque they had run at the *Taro*, refuſed to ſend him, as he required, the Remainder of the light Horſe, and Four Hundred Men at Arms. But the King, when he was near *Aleſſandria*, turned higher up towards the Mountain, where the River *Tanaro* is ſhallower, and without Loſs of Men, or any other Damage, in Eight Days March came to the Walls of *Aſti*. *Charles* entered the Town, and encamped his Army in the Field, with an Intent of augmenting it, and remaining in *Italy* until he had relieved *Novara*. The Confederates, who had followed him as far as the *Tortoneſe*, finding it would be to no Purpoſe to follow any farther, joined *Lodovico*'s Forces in the Neighbourhood of *Novara*, which was in great Want of Proviſions; for the Duke of *Orleans* and his People had not only neglected to ſupply it, as they might have done

done in Abundance, in that very plentiful Country, but not conſidering the Danger till the Remedy was too late, without any Frugality, permitted his Men profuſely to conſume what Proviſions were found in the Place. *A. D.* 1495.

ABOUT this Time the Cardinals and the Officers, who had been ſent againſt *Genoa*, returned to the Camp, that Expedition having miſcarried. For the Fleet, having on its firſt Arrival taken the Town of *Spetie*, from thence directed its Courſe to *Rapalle*, which was alſo eaſily taken. But a Squadron of eight light Gallies, and a Caraque, with two *Biſcayan* Barks, ſailed from the Port of *Genoa* in the Night, and landed Seven Hundred Men, who, without any Difficulty, took the Suburbs of *Rapalle*, with the *French* who were in it; and then approaching the *French* Fleet, that was retired into the Bay, after a long Engagement, took or burnt all their Veſſels; which, with the taking the Admiral Priſoner, rendered thoſe Places more renowned for this Victory than for that of the preceding Year, when the *Aragoni-*

ans

A. D. 1495. *ans* were routed. Nor was this Loſs of the *French* repaired by thoſe who were ſent by Land: For after marching along the Eaſtern *Riviera*, as far as the Valley of *Biſagna*, and Suburbs of *Genoa*, they found themſelves deceived in their Expectations that the Town would riſe; ſo on hearing of the Loſs of their Fleet, they returned in a Sort of Flight, over thoſe craggy and rocky Mountains, to the Vale of *Pozzeveri*, which lies on the other Side of the City, and from thence, though much increaſed by the Country People, and by others ſent by the Duke of *Savoy*, they proceeded with the ſame Haſte towards *Piedmont*. This Body of Troops would, without Doubt, have been routed and put to Flight, if thoſe in *Genoa* had not been afraid of ſallying out, leſt in their Abſence the Party of the *Fregoſi* ſhould attempt innovations. The Cavalry under *Vitelli* at *Chiaveri*, hearing the bad Succeſs of thoſe they were marching to join, returned in a diſorderly Manner, and not without Danger, to *Sarzana*: And, excepting *Spetie*, all the Towns of that *Riviera*, which had been ſeized by the Exiles, as alſo in the Weſtern

Weſtern *Riviera*, the City of *Ventimiglia*, which had been taken by *Pol Battiſta Fregoſo* and other Malecontents, returned of their own Accord under the Obedience of the *Genoeſe*. A. D. 1495.

ALL this while there were as great Agitations in the Kingdom of *Naples* as in *Lombardy*, but with more Variety of Fortune. For *Ferdinando*, after taking *Reggio*, attended to the Recovery of the neighbouring Places, having with him about Six Thouſand Men, comprehending the Volunteers who came from *Sicily*, and the *Spaniſh* Horſe and Foot under *Gonſalvo Ernando*, one of the *Aghilar* Family of *Cordova*, a Man of great Courage, who had learned Experience in the Wars of *Granada*. On his firſt Arrival in *Italy*, by the boaſting *Spaniards* he was called the *Great Captain*, to denote the ſupreme Power he had over them; which Name afterwards, by his Acquiſition of ſeveral ſignal Victories, and great Skill in military Diſcipline was univerſally confirmed and perpetuated to him. This Army, which had put a great Part of the Country in Motion,

A. D. 1495. Motion, was met at *Seminara*, a Place near the Sea-Side, by *Aubigni*, with the *French* Men at Arms who were left to defend *Calabria*, and by the Horſe and Foot ſent him by the Lords of the Country attached to the *French* Intereſt. When they came to engage, *Aubigni*'s regular Troops got the better of the Irregulars and Unexperienced: For not only the *Italians* and *Sicilians* in *Ferdinando*'s Army were a Parcel of Men haſtily levied, but the *Spaniards* alſo were Troops inexpert and raw. Yet for ſome Time they fought bravely, becauſe the Valour and Authority of their Commanders, who omitted no Part of their Duty, kept up for ſome time the Spirits of their Men, who, on all other accounts, were inferior to the Enemy, *Ferdinando* particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf; for fighting in a Manner becoming his Valour, after having his Horſe killed under him, he would doubtleſs have been ſlain or taken, if *Giovanni di Capua*, Brother to the Duke of *Termini*, who, having been his Page from his tender Years, was beloved by him in the Flower of his Age, had not diſmounted from his Horſe, and

and placed him on it, and, by a very memorable Example of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Faithfulneſs and Love, expoſed his own Life, for he was killed on the Spot. *Gonſalvo* fled over the Mountains to *Reggio*, and *Ferdinando* to *Palma*, that lies on the Sea Coaſt near *Seminara*, where he embarked on board his Fleet, and went to *Meſſina*. But, not in the leaſt dejected by his Adverſities, he reſolved to try his Fortune anew; for he was not only ſatisfied of the Affection of the whole City of *Naples*, but alſo of the Diſpoſition of many of the principal Nobility and People, who privately deſired him to return. Wherefore, not to give Time for his Friends thus diſpoſed to grow cool on account of his Rout in *Calabria*, with great Speed he got together not only the Gallies that he had brought from *Iſchia*, and the four his Father *Alfonſo* went off with, but alſo thoſe which came from *Spain*, and whatever other Veſſels he could procure from the Towns and Barons in *Sicily*. A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495.

He would not be retarded for want of Forces to put on board, but ſince he could not get a ſufficient Number for ſo great an Enterprize, he was under a Neceſſity to help himſelf more by Shows than by Realities. He ſailed then from *Sicily* with Sixty Ships of the Line, and Twenty ſmaller, attended by *Ricajenſio*, a *Catalan*, Admiral of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, a Man of great Courage, and Experience in Naval Affairs, but with ſo ſmall a Number of fighting Men, that in moſt of the Veſſels there were hardly any others but ſuch as were neceſſary to work the Ships. But tho' *Ferdinando*'s Forces were ſmall, the Favour and good Will of the People were great: For he no ſooner appeared off *Salerno*, than that City, and all the Towns along the Coaſt of *Malfi* and *Cava* erected his Standard. He then ſailed on, and hovered two Days off *Naples*, expecting in vain a Commotion in that City: For the *French* ran immediately to Arms, and poſting ſtrong Guards in all proper Places put a Stop to the Rebellion, which was ready to break out; and they might have extricated themſelves from all Danger,

di Gaggio.

ger, had they followed with Reſolution the good Counſel given them by ſome of their Party, who, ſuſpecting how ill the *Aragonian* Fleet was provided with Soldiers, perſuaded *Monpenſier* to fill the *French* Veſſels that were in Port with Soldiers and Men that were fit to fight, and attack them. *Ferdinando*, after the third Day, deſpairing of any Change in the City, made off for *Iſchia*; but the Conſpirators, conſidering that, on account of their Plots being in a manner diſcovered, the Cauſe of *Ferdinando* was become their own, privately aſſembled, and, reſolving to make a Virtue of Neceſſity, ſecretly diſpatched a ſmall Boat to recall him, deſiring that to make the Attempt eaſier, and to give greater Courage to thoſe who intended to riſe in his Favour, he would land all or Part of his Men. The King ſailed back to *Naples* the Day following, which happened to be the ſame Day the Battle was fought on the Banks of the *Taro*: He approached the Shore, to land his Men at the *Maddelena*, a Mile diſtant from the City, where the little River *Sebeto* runs into the Sea; a River which deſerves rather the A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. Name of a Brook, and would hardly have been diſtinguiſhed by any Name at all, if the *Neapolitan* Poets had not thought proper to give it one. *Monpenſier*, as ready to proceed with Raſhneſs, where Caution was neceſſary, as he had been with Fear, where Courage the Day before was requiſite, left the City almoſt deſtitute of Troops to oppoſe the Enemy's Landing; wherefore the *Neapolitans*, rejoicing at an Opportunity which they could never have expected, immediately took up Arms, and gave Notice of their Riſing by tolling the Bell of the *Carmelites* near the Walls of the City; and that being anſwered by all the other Bells the People ſoon gathered from all Quarters, took Poſſeſſion of the Gates, and cried out aloud *Ferdinando!* * This ſudden Tumult alarmed the *French*, who not thinking it adviſeable to remain between the Rebel City and *Ferdinando*'s Troops, and fearing they ſhould not be able to return into the City the ſame Way they came out, marched round the Walls, up a high, long, and very difficult Hill, intending

* The *Neapolitans* gave Notice to the King of their Riſing by diſplaying a white Sheet. *Giovio.*

ing to get into the Town through the Gate that was very near *Caſtel Nuovo*. *Ferdinando*, in the mean time, entered *Naples*, and Horſes being provided for himſelf and ſome of his Followers, he rode amidſt them all over the Town, to the inexpreſſible Joy of all the *Neapolitans*, who accompanied him with repeated Shouts. The Women were never tired in covering him from their Windows with Thyme and ſweet-ſcented Waters, and even many of the better Sort of them ran into the Streets to embrace him, and wipe off the Sweat from his Face; but at the ſame time nothing was neglected that was neceſſary for the Defence of the Town. The Marquis of *Peſcara*, with the Soldiers who entered with *Ferdinando*, and the *Neapolitan* Youth, employed themſelves in barricading and fortifying the Ends of the Streets, where they apprehended the *French* from *Caſtel Nuovo* might attack the Town. As ſoon as *Monpenſier* had got together his Men in the Piazza before the Caſtle, he made all his Efforts to advance into the inhabited Quarters of the Town; but was ſo moleſted by the Croſs-bows

A. D. 1495. *Ferdinando* in *Naples*.

A. D. 1495. and ſmall Artillery, and found all the Streets ſo well ſecured, that Night approaching he ordered his Troops to retire into the Caſtle, leaving, between uſeful and unuſeful, at leaſt Two Thouſand Horſes in the Square, as there was neither Room nor Proviſions for them in the Caſtle. *Yves d'Alegre*, reckoned a brave Officer, *Antonello* Prince of *Salerno*, and many other Perſons of Diſtinction, both *French* and *Italians*, ſhut themſelves up with *Monpenſier*; and tho' for ſeveral Days they made frequent Skirmiſhes in the Square and about the Port, and fired on the City with the Artillery, yet being always repulſed, they gave over all Hopes of recovering the Town with their preſent Force.

Monpenſier ſhuts himſelf up in the Caſtle.

THE Example of *Naples* was immediately followed by *Capua*, *Averſa*, the Caſtle of *Mondragone*, and many neighbouring Towns; and the greateſt Part of the Kingdom ſeemed ripe for a Change: But the People of *Gaeta*, at the Sight of ſome of *Ferdinando*'s Veſſels that made towards the Shore, having taken up Arms with

with more Reſolution than Strength, were defeated with great Slaughter by the *French* Garriſon, and in the Heat of the Victory the whole Town was pillaged. At the ſame time the *Venetian* Fleet approached *Monopoli*, a City of *Puglia*, and after landing the *Stradiotti*, and a good Body of Foot, attacked it by Land. *Piero Bembo*, Commander of one of the *Venetian* Gallies, was killed by a Cannon Ball; nevertheleſs the Town at laſt was taken by Storm, which ſo diſcouraged the *French* Governor that he ſoon ſurrendered the Caſtle; and *Pugliano* alſo was given up by Compoſition. A. D. 1495.

FERDINANDO, in the mean time, was bent on getting Poſſeſſion of *Caſtel Nuovo* and *Caſtel dell' Uovo*, and hoped to reduce them ſoon by Famine; for Proviſions were ſcarce, conſidering the Number of Soldiers that were therein; and, to render them ſtill ſcarcer, he was conſtantly employed in making himſelf Maſter of the adjacent Poſts. The *French*, to ſecure their Fleet, which was in great Danger in the Port, brought it between the Tower of *San Vin-*

A. D. 1495. *centio*, *Caſtel dell' Uovo*, and *Pizzifalcone*, which Places were in their Hands: This Fleet conſiſted of Five Ships, Four light Gallies, a ſmall Galliot, and a Galleon. They kept Poſſeſſion of the Part behind *Caſtel Nuovo*, where the royal Gardens were ſituated, and extended themſelves to *Capella*, and fortifying the Monaſtery of the *Croce*, they made Excurſions as far as *Piedigrotta* and *San Martino*. *Ferdinando* having taken and fortified that Spot of Ground made Uſe of for Horſe-Races, and made a covered Way along the *Incoronata*, took Poſſeſſion of Mount *Sant' Ermo* and the Hill of *Pizzifalcone*, in order to block up the Citadel, which was built on the Top of the Hill, and held out for the *French*, becauſe by taking it he might from that high Place annoy the Enemy's Fleet. The Troops of *Ferdinando* attacked thoſe in the Monaſtery of the *Croce*; but receiving great Damage in their Approaches from the Artillery, and deſpairing to take that Place by Force, they endeavoured to get it by a Plot, which afterwards proved fatal to the Contriver: For a *Moor* in the Garriſon

riſon having deceitfully promiſed the Marquis of *Peſcara*, who had been lately his Maſter, to let him into the Place, and for that End having enticed him one Night to come and parley on the Top of a Ladder planted againſt the Walls of the Monaſtery, in order to ſettle the Time and Manner of entering the Place the ſame Night, he was by a double Treachery of the *Black* ſhot thro' the Throat by an Arrow from a Croſs-Bow, and killed on the Spot. *A. D.* 1495. The Death of the Marquis of *Peſcara*.

THE Deſertion firſt of *Proſpero*, and then of *Fabritio Colonna*, was of no ſmall Importance to *Ferdinando*'s Affairs. Tho' the Time they had inliſted themſelves to the King of *France* was not expired, yet immediately after the Recovery of *Naples* they entered iuto *Ferdinando*'s Service, alledging for their Excuſe, that their Salary had not been duly paid, and that *Virginio Orſini* and Count *Pitigliano* were highly careſſed by the King, with too little Regard to their own Merit; a Reaſon not ſufficient to counterballance the Greatneſs *Proſpero* and *Fabritio* revolt to *Ferdinando*.

of

A. D. 1495. of the Favours they had received from him. But who knows whether that which ought in Reaſon to have been a Bridle to refrain them, was not a Spur to act the contrary; becauſe the greater the Rewards of which they were in Poſſeſſion, ſo much the more powerful, perhaps, was their Deſire to preſerve them, ſince they ſaw the Affairs of the *French* now on the Decline?

THE Caſtle being thus blockaded, and the Sea at preſent ſecured, the Want of Proviſions daily increaſed, and the only Hopes the Beſieged had left were the Expectation of Succours by Sea from *France*. For as ſoon as *Charles* was arrived at *Aſti*, *Peron de la Baſque* was diſpatched to *Villafranca*, a Port contiguous to *Nizza*, with Orders for a Fleet to be ſent out immediately with Two Thouſand between *Gaſcons* and *Swiſs*, and to carry with them Proviſions. Monſ. *d'Arban* was both General and Admiral; a good Land-Officer, but little verſed in Sea Affairs! He ſailed to the Iſle of *Porezzo*, where he diſcovered *Ferdinando*'s Fleet, which conſiſted of Thirty Sail

Sail of Ships, and two large *Genoeſe* Veſ- A D. 1495.
ſels; at the Sight of which he tacked about and went off, and was purſued to the Iſle of *Elba*, but, with the Loſs only of a *Biſcayan* Veſſel, he got into *Livorno*, ſo terrified, that his Authority was not ſufficient to prevent the greater Part of his Men from landing, and going to *Piſa*.

AFTER this Retreat *Monpenſier* and the reſt, finding they could not ſubſiſt for Want of Proviſions, and having ſuſtained a Three Months Siege, agreed to return into *Provence*, if they were not ſuccoured within Thirty Days, on Condition that the Effects and Perſons of all thoſe who were in the Caſtle ſhould be ſecure, and *Yves d'Alegre* and Three more were delivered as Hoſtages for the Performance of this Convention. So ſhort a Time could not admit of any Succour, but from the *French* in that Kingdom: Therefore Monſ. *de Perſi*, with the *Swiſs* that he commanded, and Part of the *French* Lances, accompanied by the Prince of *Biſignano*, and many other Barons, moved towards *Naples*. *Ferdinando*, aware of this,

A. D. 1495. this, ſent Count *Matalona* to *Eboli*, with an Army, the greater Part of which was got together in haſte, and conſiſted chiefly of his Friends and Adherents, which, tho' much ſuperior in Number, at the Sight of the *French* at the Lake of *Pizzolo* near *Eboli*, turned their Backs and fled, without offering to fight; yet as they were not much purſued, they got with little Loſs, firſt to *Nola*, and then to *Naples*. *Venantio*, the Son of *Giulio Verano*, Lord of *Camerino*, was taken Priſoner on this Occaſion. The Conquerors marched on to relieve the Caſtle, and had got ſo much Credit by this laſt Victory, that *Ferdinando* was inclined once more to abandon *Naples*: But reſuming Courage at the Intreaties of the *Neapolitans*, who, as much out of Fear on account of their Rebellion, as of Affection to his Perſon, preſſed and prevailed on him to ſtay, he poſted himſelf at *Capella*, and, to prevent the Enemy's Approach to the Caſtle, perfected a large Trench, already begun, from the Mountain *Sant' Ermo* to *Caſtel dell' Uovo*, and lined with Artillery and Soldiers all the Hills, as far as *Capella*, and beyond it.

Wherefore

Wherefore the *French*, though, by the Way of *Salerno*, they were come to *Nocera* thro' *Cava*, and by the Mountain of *Piedigrotta* had got into *Chiaia* near *Naples*, yet found all Places ſo well defended, and *Ferdinando* ſo reſolute, and were ſo annoyed by the Artillery from Mount *Pizzifalcone* (ſo famous for the Delicacies and profuſe Expenſes of *Lucullus*) which commands *Caſtel dell' Uovo*, that they durſt not advance, or come near *Capella*; nor was it poſſible for them to remain in the Poſt they were in; for Nature, that has bountifully beſtowed on that Coaſt all other Delights, had not provided it with freſh Water. This obliged them to retire ſooner than they intended, and to march towards *Nola*, leaving at their Decampment two or three Pieces of Artillery, and Part of the Proviſions they had brought to ſupply the Caſtle. *Ferdinando*, leaving the Caſtle beſieged, encamped his Army in the Plain of *Palma* near *Sarni* *. A. D. 1495.

MONPENSIER,

* At this Place there was a Battle fought between *Marcellus* and *Hannibal*.

A. D. 1495.

MONPENSIER, by the Departure of *Perſi*, deſpairing of any Relief, after leaving Three Hundred Men in *Caſtel Nuovo*, which was a ſufficient Number both for the Proviſions and for the Defence, and a Garriſon in *Caſtel dell' Uovo*, embarked in the Night, with Five and Twenty Hundred Men, on his Fleet, and went to *Salerno*. *Ferdinando* complained greatly of this Proceeding, alledging that *Monpenſier* ought not to have gone off with his Men from *Caſtel Nuovo*, before the Time of ſurrendering was expired, without giving up both the Caſtles; and he was diſpoſed, as the Rigour of the Laws of War permitted him, to revenge this Injury and Breach of Faith with the Blood of the Hoſtages, when he found that the Garriſons refuſed to ſurrender at the Time ſtipulated. But after they had ſtood out above a Month beyond the Term, and were almoſt famiſhed, thoſe of *Caſtel Nuovo* ſurrendered on Condition the Hoſtages ſhould be releaſed. And a few Days after the Garriſon of *Caſtel dell' Uovo*, for the ſame Reaſon, agreed to ſurrender the firſt

Caſtel Nuovo ſurrenders.

first Day of Lent, in case they were not relieved before that Time. *A. D.* 1495.

About this Time died at *Messina Alfonso* of *Aragon*, whose Glory and Fortune, which had rendered his Name so illustrious in all Parts when Duke of *Calabria*, were converted into the highest Infamy and Misery after he ascended the Throne of *Naples*. It is reported that, a little before his Death, he begged of his Son to permit him to return to *Naples*, where the Hatred, formerly conceived against him, was almost changed into Benevolence; but that *Ferdinando*, swayed more, as is customary with Mankind, by the Ambition of Reigning, than by Paternal Reverence, should return this Answer, no less pungent than witty, That the best Course for him would be to stay where he was till he had so settled the Kingdom that he might never more be obliged to abandon it. *Ferdinando* also, to strengthen his Interest by a closer Alliance with the King of *Spain*, obtained the Pope's Dispensation to marry his Aunt *Giovanna*, the Daughter of *Ferdinando* his Grand-Father, Death of King *Alfonso*.

A. D. 1495. Father, and of *Giovanna*, Siſter to the ſaid King.

Siege of *Novara*. WHILST the Sieges were carried on againſt the Caſtles of *Naples*, with Variety of Accidents in the Manner related, thoſe in *Novara* were very much ſtraitened; for the Duke of *Milan* had a powerful Army before it, and the *Venetians* were ſo earneſt in aſſiſting him, that it was thought they had ſeldom been leſs ſparing of their Money than on this Occaſion *. Hence, in a ſhort Time, were aſſembled in the Camp of the Allies Three Thouſand Men at Arms, Three Thouſand light Horſe, a Thouſand *German* Horſe, and Five Thouſand *Italian* Foot: But the principal Strength of this Army conſiſted in Ten Thouſand Lance-Knights, the Name by which the *German* Foot were commonly known. Theſe were moſtly in the Pay of the Duke of *Milan*, and were intended to oppoſe the *Swiſs*: For the *Italian* Foot dreaded their very Name, being mightily ſunk

* The *Venetians* expended One Hundred Thouſand Golden Ducats a Month to ſupport this War. *Anſſandro Benedetti.*

ſunk in Courage and Reputation ſince the Coming of the *French*. The *Germans* had many brave Commanders; the chief amongſt them was *George Petraplan*, a Native of *Auſtria*, who ſome Years before had ſerved under *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, and eſtabliſhed his Reputation at the Siege of *St. Omer*, a Town of *Picardy*, which he took from the *French*. Nor had the *Venetian* Senate only taken Care to ſend a great Number of Troops to this Siege, but farther, to put greater Spirits in their Soldiery, had promoted the Marquis of *Mantoua* from Governor to be Captain General of the Army, in Honour to the Valour which he had ſhewn in the Battle of the *Taro*; and, as an Example of great Gratitude for ever to be recorded, they not only increaſed the Pay of thoſe who behaved gallantly in that Action, but gave Penſions or other Proviſions to the Sons of many of the Slain, and Portions to their Daughters. A. D. 1495.

WITH this powerful Army the Siege was carried on; for the Confederates, who were determined moſtly by what *Lodovico*

A. D. 1495. propoſed, had reſolved, by his Advice, not to run the Riſque of a Battle, unleſs they were forced; but to fortify themſelves in proper Places about *Novara*, and prevent its being ſupplied with Proviſions, hoping that as there was a Scarcity in the Town, and great Quantities were wanting, that it could not hold out many Days: For, beſides the Inhabitants and Peaſants who had reſorted thither, the Duke of *Orleans*, between *French* and *Swiſs*, had above Seven Thouſand choſen Men in it. Therefore *Galeazzo da San Severino*, giving over all Thoughts of taking by Force a Town defended by ſuch Numbers, encamped with the Duke's Forces at *Mugne*, a Place very convenient to hinder Proviſions coming from *Vercelli*. And the Marquis of *Mantoua*, with the *Venetians*, immediately on his Arrival, took ſeveral Towns Sword in Hand; and a few Days after the Caſtle of *Brione*, which was of ſome Importance, and put Troops into *Camariano* and *Bolgari*, that lay between *Novara* and *Vercelli*; and, the better to prevent the Entrance of Proviſions, diſtributed the Army in

proper

proper Poſts about *Novara*, and fortified all their Quarters. *A. D.* 1495.

On the other Hand, the King of *France*, to be nearer *Novara*, had removed from *Aſti* to *Turin*, from whence he made frequent Viſits to a Lady at *Cheri*, with whom he was fallen in Love; yet Gallantry did not take off his Attentions from providing what was neceſſary for the War, but he was continually preſſing the March of his Troops from *France*, and with no leſs Eagerneſs ſolliciting and waiting the Arrival of the Ten Thouſand *Swiſs*, whom the Bailiff of *Dijon* was gone to inliſt, being fully determined, as ſoon as they had joined the Army, to make all poſſible Efforts to relieve *Novara*; but without them he would not venture to attempt any Thing of Conſequence. For the *French* Nation, though very potent in Cavalry, and noted for its great Quantity of Artillery, and Skill in managing it, yet was very weak in Infantry; becauſe the Uſe of Arms and military Exerciſes having been encouraged only amongſt the Nobility, the vulgar Sort, and the People in general,

A. D. 1495. thro' a long Diſuſe of Arms, had no longer the antient warlike Spirit of that Nation, but addicted themſelves to Trades, and to the Profits ariſing from them in Times of Peace. To encourage this Diſpoſition, ſeveral of the laſt Kings had thought fit to diſarm the People, and endeavoured to wean their Inclinations from military Exerciſes, induced to it by various Inſtances of popular Conſpiracies and Rebellions in that Kingdom. The *French*, on this Account, could not truſt to the Valour of their own Infantry, but went timorouſly to War, if they were not provided with a ſufficient Body of *Swiſs*; which Nation, ever unconquered and fierce, had greatly increaſed its Reputation for theſe Twenty Years laſt paſt: For being attacked by *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, who for his Courage and Power was a very great Terror to *France* and to all his Neighbours, in a few Months they gave him three Defeats, in the laſt of which he was found dead amongſt the Slain; but whether killed in the Battle or Flight, or how he came by his Death, was never particularly known. It was therefore on account

count of their Courage, and becauſe the *French* had no Sort of Emulation or Difference with them, or any Reaſon, for their own Intereſts, to be jealous of them, as they were of the *Germans*, that they inliſted no other foreign Foot but *Swiſs*, and made uſe of them in all important Wars. And well knowing how difficult and dangerous it was to ſuccour *Novara*, ſurrounded by ſo vaſt an Army, and fight againſt ſuch a Body of *German* Foot, who had the ſame Diſcipline as the *Swiſs*, they never expected their Arrival with more Anxiety than at this Juncture. *A. D.* 1495.

THE City of *Vercelli* is ſituated halfway between *Turin* and *Novara*: It was formerly a Member of the Dutchy of *Milan*, but yielded by *Filippomaria Viſconti*, during the long War in which he was engaged with the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, to *Amadeo* Duke of *Savoy*, to induce him to break his Alliance with them. Neither Side as yet had ſent Soldiers into this Town; for the Dutcheſs, Mother and Guardian to the young Duke of *Savoy*, was quite *French* by Inclination, but would not

A. D. 1495. declare openly for the King till he was more powerful, in the mean time amuſing the Duke of *Milan* with ſmooth Speeches, and flattering Hopes. But when the King, who had now a numerous Army, removed to *Turin*, a City of the ſame Dutchy, ſhe conſented to the Entrance of *French* Troops into *Vercelli*, which, on account of its Situation, increaſed greatly his Hopes of relieving *Novara* when all his Troops were arrived. The Confederates indeed began to be doubtful of Succeſs, and, therefore, in order to lay the better Foundation for Proceeding maturely amidſt theſe Difficulties, *Lodovico Sforza* went in Perſon to the Army, accompanied by *Beatrice* his Wife, and conſtant Companion, as well in Affairs of Moment as in Diverſions. At his Preſence, and, as reported, principally by his Advice, after many Debates, it was unanimouſly concluded by the Generals that, for the greater Security of the whole Army, the *Venetians* ſhould join the *Sforzeſcan* Troops at *Mugne*, after leaving ſufficient Garriſons in all the Places about *Novara* which might favour the Siege: That *Bolgari* ſhould be abandoned,

for

for being only Three Miles diſtant from *Vercelli*, if the *French* ſhould attack it with a great Force, they ſhould be obliged either ſhamefully to loſe it, or, contrary to what had been ſettled, put the whole Army in Motion to relieve it: That in *Camariano*, which lay Three Miles from the Quarters at *Mugne*, the Garriſon ſhould be augmented, and the whole Camp fortified with Ditches, Ramparts, and a great Quantity of Artillery; and that other Reſolutions ſhould be taken every Day, in which they were to be directed according to the Motions of the Enemy; and, laſtly, not to omit cutting down the Trees, and deſtroying every thing, up to the Walls of *Novara*, that might be of any Uſe to the Beſieged, or their Horſes, of which there were a vaſt Number in the Town. Theſe Things being ſettled, and a general Review made of the Army, *Lodovico* returned to *Milan*, to be at hand to make the neceſſary Proviſions that from Time to Time would be required. And that the ſpiritual Authority and Arms might be aſſiſtant to the temporal Forces, the *Venetians* and *Sforza* prevailed on the A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. Pope to ſend one of his Mace-Bearers to *Charles*, commanding him in Ten Days to quit *Italy* with all his Army, and appointing him another ſhort Time to withdraw his Troops from the Kingdom of *Naples*; and, in caſe of Diſobedience, citing him to appear in Perſon at *Rome*, under the Penalty of ſpiritual Puniſhments, accompanied by the Threats uſually denounced by the Church on ſuch Occaſions. This was a Step formerly taken by antient Popes in dangerous Junctures. Thus we read that with no other Weapons *Adrian*, the firſt of that Name, obliged *Deſiderio*, King of the *Lombards*, who was marching with a powerful Army to create Diſturbances in *Rome*, to return to *Pavia*, after he had advanced as far as *Terni*. But in our Days that Reverence and Majeſty, which the Sanctity of the Lives of thoſe Popes had ſecured them, being wanting, it was not at all likely that different Manners and Examples ſhould produce the ſame Effects. *Charles*, therefore, treated this Order with Scorn, and made anſwer, That ſince his Holineſs, at his Return from *Naples*, did not think proper to wait for him at *Rome*, whither he

he was going, in a devout Manner, to kiſs his Feet, he wondered very much he ſhould be ſo deſirous of ſeeing him now: However, in Obedience to his Commands, he ſhould apply himſelf ſeriouſly to force his Way to him; and, that he might not take ſo much Trouble in vain, he begged he would not be out of the Way. A. D. 1495.

CHARLES, about this Time, concluded a new Treaty at *Turin* with the *Florentine* Ambaſſadors, but not without a ſtrong Oppoſition from the ſame Miniſters who formerly had ſhewn themſelves no Friends to that Republic, and who unluckily had now a greater Occaſion to contradict them. For after the *Florentines* had recovered the Caſtles which lay on the Hills near *Piſa* taken from them in *Charles*'s Return, and obtained *Ponteſacco*, to which they had laid Siege, on Condition that the Soldiers ſhould retire in Safety, contrary to this Capitulation, they had put to the Sword almoſt all the *Gaſcons*, as they marched out intermixed with the *Piſans*, and afterwards exerciſed many Inſtances of Inhumanity againſt the dead Bodies. This Barbarity

A. D. 1495. Barbarity was committed againſt the Will of the *Florentine* Commiſſaries. who with great Difficulty ſaved Part of the Men. But ſome *Florentine* Soldiers, when Priſoners in the *French* Army, had been very ill uſed, and took this Opportunity to gratify their Revenge. The Enemies of the Republic in the King's Court made a Handle of this Action to prove the innate Enmity of the *Florentines* to the *French*. This Affair retarded ſome Time, but, however, did not hinder the Concluſion of the Treaty; which at laſt was finiſhed, but not out of any Regard to former Promiſes or Oaths, but from an urgent Neceſſity of Money, and of ſuccouring the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Articles were, That, without any Delay, all the Towns and Forts of the *Florentines* which were in the King's Hands ſhould be reſtored; they obliging themſelves, within Two Years, on a valuable Conſideration, to deliver up, if the King ſhould require it, *Pietra Santa* and *Sarzana* to the *Genoeſe*, provided the City of *Genoa* ſhould return under his Majeſty's Command: That on this Conſideration their Ambaſſadors ſhould pay down

down the Thirty Thouſand Ducats agreed upon in the Capitulation of *Florence*, but the Republic ſhould have Jewels in Pledge for the Reſtitution of this Money, if their Caſtles, under any Pretext whatſoever, were not reſtored: That when they were given up they ſhould lend the King Seventy Thouſand Ducats; for the Payment of which the GENERALS of the Kingdom of *France* ſhould be bound: This is the Title given to Four of the King's Miniſters who collect the Revenue of the whole Kingdom: That they ſhould ſend this Money into the Kingdom of *Naples*, and, in the King's Name, diſtribute it amongſt the royal Forces, not excepting the *Colonnas*, if they had not made their Peace with *Ferdinando*; for though there was a ſtrong Report of *Proſpero*'s Deſertion, yet no authentic Account was arrived: That, provided they were not engaged in a War in *Tuſcany*, they ſhould ſend Two Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms into the Kingdom of *Naples*; and, if they had no other War but what concerned *Montepulciano*, they ſhould ſend thither *Vitelli* with the Troops he had under his Command in the *Piſan*, A. D. 1495.

A. D 1495. *Piſan*, who ſhould not be obliged to ſtay any longer than the End of *October*: That the *Piſans* ſhould have a general Indemnity, and the *Florentines* ſhould immediately ſet about reſtoring their Effects, and give ſome Encouragement for their Improvement in Arts and Sciences: That, for a Security of the Performance of theſe Articles, they ſhould deliver Six Hoſtages, of the principal Citizens of *Florence* at the King's Choice, who ſhould remain for a certain Time at his Court. As ſoon as the Treaty was ſigned, the Thirty Thouſand Ducats paid down, and the Jewels delivered in Pledge, Letters and Orders were diſpatched to the King's Governors to reſtore the Forts, and the Thirty Thouſand Ducats were immediately ſent into *Switzerland* for the new Levies.

ALL this while the Hardſhips and Difficulties in *Novara* daily increaſed, but great was the Reſolution of the Soldiers, and much greater the Obſtinacy of the *Novareſe*, from a Conſciouſneſs of their Rebellion, in defending themſelves; for Proviſions were become ſo ſcarce, that they were

were almoſt famiſhed; and though *Orleans* had ſent out of the Town the uſeleſs Mouths, that was not a ſufficient Remedy. The *French* and the *Swiſs*, who were not accuſtomed to ſuch Inconveniencies, began daily to ſicken; the Duke himſelf laboured under a Quartan Ague, and with reiterated Meſſengers and Letters preſſed the King not to prolong the Succours; but as he had not as yet got together a ſufficient Force, he could not ſo eaſily, and as ſoon as was neceſſary, give them Relief. The *French*, however, attempted ſeveral Times in the Night to throw in Proviſions, and eſcorted them with large Parties both of Horſe and Foot; but they were always diſcovered, and obliged to retire, and ſometimes with no ſmall Loſs: And the Marquis of *Mantoua*, to prevent all Entrance of Proviſions, attacked the Monaſtery of *San Franceſco*, which lies near the Walls of *Novara*, and having taken it, he put in it a Guard of Two Hundred Men at Arms, and Three Thouſand *German* Foot. The taking this Poſt greatly eaſed the Army of its Fatigues, for it kept open the Road through which all their own

A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. own Proviſions paſſed, and ſtopped the Way from the Gate which leads to Mount *Biandrana*, the eaſieſt Paſſage into *Novara*. The next Day he took the Baſtion which had been erected by the *French* in the Suburb of *San Nazzaro*, and the Night following got Poſſeſſion of the whole Suburb, and the other Baſtion contiguous to the Gate, in which he put a Guard, and then fortified the Suburb, where Count *Pitigliano*, who had been hired with the Title of Governor by the *Venetians*, was wounded near his Girdle by a Muſket-Shot, which had very like to have proved mortal.

By this Progreſs of the Enemy, the Duke of *Orleans* finding he could no longer defend the other Suburbs which, on his firſt retiring to *Novara*, he had fortified, ordered them to be ſet on Fire the Night following, and drew off all his Men, attending wholly to the Defence of the City, keeping up his Spirits in this Extremity of Hunger with the Hopes of a ſpeedy Relief; for the *Swiſs* were daily arriving, and the *French* Army, after paſſing the River

River *Steſia*, and putting a Garriſon in *Bolgari*, encamped within a Mile of *Vercelli*, in order to wait there for the *Swiſs*; and it was believed that, on their Arrival, *Novara* would be ſuccoured. But this muſt have proved a difficult Taſk; for the *Italians* were deeply entrenched in a ſtrong Situation, the Road from *Vercelli* to *Novara* was full of Water, the Ditches deep and wide all over the Country, and *Camariano*, which was fortified by the Allies, lay between their Camp and *Bolgari* poſſeſſed by the *French*. By reaſon of theſe Difficulties, neither the King nor his Troops ſeemed eager to move; but yet if the whole Complement of the *Swiſs* had arrived ſooner, he would certainly have riſked a Battle, the Event of which muſt have been very dubious on both Sides. Wherefore each being ſenſible of their Danger, there were not wanting ſecret Overtures of Peace between the King and the Duke of *Milan*, tho' with little Hopes of Succeſs, on account of the Jealouſies they entertained of one another; and becauſe each, the more to keep up his Reputation, would ſeem indifferent. But A. D. 1495.

Chance

A. D. 1495. Chance opened a more expeditious Way to bring Affairs of ſo much Importance to a Concluſion.

THE Marchioneſs of *Monferrato* died at this Time, and a Diſpute ariſing about the Guardianſhip of her young Son between the Marquis of *Saluzzo* and the Marchioneſs's Brother *Conſtantino*, who was one of the ancient Lords of *Macedonia*, which had been ſeized many Years before by *Mahomet* the *Ottoman*, the King, deſirous to prevent Commotions in that State, in order to ſettle the Regency according to the Inclination of the People, had ſent *Argenton* to *Caſul Cervagio*; and the Marquis of *Mantoua* at the ſame time had ſent one of his Domeſtics to condole for the Death of the Marchioneſs. Theſe two, in converſing, fell on a Diſcourſe concerning the Benefit that would accrue to both Parties, if a Peace could be procured. The Converſation became ſo ſerious that *Argenton* was prevailed on to write to the *Venetian* Proveditors, reminding them of what he began to negotiate with them before at the *Taro*. They liſtened to him, and

and communicating their Sentiments to the Duke of *Milan*'s Generals, at laſt it was agreed to apply to the King, who was come to *Vercelli*, and deſire he would depute ſome of his Miniſters to meet theirs, in order for a Conference in ſome convenient Place. The King conſented, and the next Day the Deputies aſſembled at a Place between *Bolgari* and *Camariano*. The *Venetians* choſe the Marquis of *Mantoua* and *Bernardo Contarini* the Provedittor of their Stradiotti; the Duke of *Milan*, *Franceſco Bernardino Viſconti*, and the King of *France* ſent the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, the Prince of *Orange* (who had lately paſſed the Mountains, and by the King's Commiſſion had the principal Charge of the Army) the Marſhal *de Gié*, *Pienes* and *Argenton*. The Deputies met ſeveral times, and Day after Day ſome of them paſſed and repaſſed between their reſpective Armies with the Reſult of their Conferences. The moſt material Point in which they diſagreed was concerning the City of *Novara*: The King made no Difficulty of reſtoring it, but deſired it might be done with the leaſt Offence to

A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. his Honour. He inſiſted it ſhould be put into the Hands of one of the *German* Officers in the *Italian* Camp, who ſhould receive it in the Name of the King of the *Romans*, as Liege Lord of the Dutchy of *Milan*: But the Allies inſiſted that it ſhould be given up without any Condition. This Difficulty, and ſome others, could not be removed with the Expedition wiſhed by the Beſieged, who were reduced to the laſt Extremity; it being computed that, through Famine and the Sickneſs occaſioned by it, about Two Thouſand of *Orleans*'s Men had periſhed. At laſt a Truce was made for Eight Days, and Leave given for the Duke of *Orleans* and the Marquis of *Saluzzo* to repair with a ſmall Attendance to *Vercelli*, but on their Parole to return to *Novara* with the ſame Retinue, if the Peace was not concluded. As the Duke was to paſs through the Enemy's Camp, the Marquis of *Mantoua*, for his Security, went to a Fort near *Bolgari*, in the Power of the Count *de Foix*. The Soldiers in *Novara* would not have permitted the Duke to leave the Town, if he had not aſſured them, on his Word, that he would return

return in Three Days, or that through his Means they ſhould be allowed to come out; nor would they permit the Marſhal *de Gié*, who was come to *Novara* to conduct the Duke out of the City, to take away his Nephew, but kept him in Pledge. They had by this Time conſumed not only the Proviſions that generally ſerve for the Preſervation of human Life, but alſo the Fleſh of unclean Animals, and other nauſeous Foods, from which Men in that Extremity know not how to abſtain. *A. D.* 1495.

As ſoon as the Duke of *Orleans* came to the King, the Truce was prolonged for a few Days, on Condition that all the *French* ſhould quit *Novara*, and leave it in the Poſſeſſion of the Townſmen, who were to take an Oath not to deliver it to either Party without their mutual Conſent: That in the Caſtle there ſhould remain a Company of Thirty *French* Foot, who ſhould be daily ſupplied with Proviſions from the *Italian* Camp. The *French* accordingly marched out, and were eſcorted by the Marquis of *Mantoua*, and *Galeazzo da San Severino* till they arrived where they were

A. D. 1495. ſafe, but were ſo feeble and emaciated by Hunger, that many died a little after they were arrived at *Vercelli*, and thoſe that ſurvived were rendered uſeleſs during this War.

AT this Time the Bailiff of *Dijon* arrived with the Remainder of the *Swiſs*; and though he had demanded no more than Ten Thouſand, yet he could not help bringing Twenty; for the News being ſpread of the Arrival of *French* Money, the People, that flocked from all Parts, made up that Number, and would be inliſted. One Half of theſe joined the Camp at *Vercelli*, and the other was quartered at Ten Miles Diſtance; for it was not thought quite ſafe that ſo many of that Nation ſhould be together in the ſame Army: Had they arrived ſome Days ſooner, it is probable the Treaty might have been interrupted: For, beſides theſe, the King's Army conſiſted of Eight Thouſand *French* Foot, Two Thouſand *Swiſs* of thoſe who had ſerved at *Naples*, and a Body of Eighteen Hundred Lances. But as Things had gone ſo far, and *Novara*

Arrival of 20,000 *Swiſs* in the *French* Camp.

was

was evacuated, the Treaty went on, tho' the Duke of *Orleans*, with many others, was ſtrongly againſt it. Every Day the *French* Deputies, who were in the *Italian* Camp, attended the Duke of *Milan*, who was come in Perſon to be nearer at hand to treat of Matters of ſuch Importance, tho' always in the Preſence of the Ambaſſadors of the Allies. At laſt the Deputies returned to the King with the ultimate Conditions on which Peace might be made, which were as follows: That there ſhould be a perpetual Peace and Friendſhip between the King and the Duke of *Milan*, but without any Prejudice to the Duke's other Alliances: That his Majeſty ſhould give his Conſent that the Citizens of *Novara* ſhould deliver up to him the Town, and his Men ſhould evacuate the Caſtle: That *Spetie* and all other Places taken in this War by either Side ſhould be reſtored: That the King might equip at *Genoa*, his Fief, what Veſſels he pleaſed, and have the Benefit of all military Conveniencies of that City, provided they were not employed in Favour of the Enemies of that State; and

A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. for the Security of this Article, the *Genoeſe* ſhould give certain Hoſtages: The Duke of *Milan* ſhould procure him the Reſtitution of the Veſſels taken at *Rapalle*, and the Twelve Gallies detained at *Genoa*, and at his own Expence fit him out at preſent two large *Genoa* Ships (which with four of his own, already equipped, he deſigned to ſend to the Succour of the Kingdom of *Naples*) and the Year following be obliged to have in Readineſs Three more in the ſame Order: That he ſhould give a free Paſs to what Troops the King ſhould ſend through his Dutchy in their Way to *Naples*, on Condition that no more than Two Hundred Lances at a Time ſhould paſs; and in caſe the King returned himſelf, the Duke ſhould accompany him with a certain Number of Men; That the *Venetians* for two Months might have the Liberty of acceding to this Peace, and if they did ſhould withdraw their Fleet from the Kingdom of *Naples*, and give no farther Aſſiſtance to *Ferdinando*: If afterwards they violated their Engagements, and the King on that Account declared War, the Duke ſhould aſſiſt him, and might keep Poſſeſſion

ſeſſion of whatever Part of the *Venetian* Territory he could make himſelf Maſter: That *Lodovico*, within the Month of *March* enſuing, ſhould pay Fifty Thouſand Ducats to the Duke of *Orleans*, for the Expences he had incurred during the Siege of *Novara*, remit Eighty Thouſand Ducats of the Money he lent the King, when he firſt paſſed through his Dominions, and allow a further Term for the Payment of the Remainder: That *Trivulzi*'s Eſtate ſhould be reſtored to him, and his Outlawry roverſed: The Baſtard of *Bourbon* taken at the *Taro*, and *Meaux* at *Rapalle*, and all other Priſoners ſhould be ſet at Liberty: The Duke ſhould order *Fracaſſa* to depart from *Piſa*, with all the Troops he had lately ſent thither, as alſo thoſe of the *Genoeſe*, and ſhould give no Obſtruction to the *Florentines* in the Recovery of their Forts: That within a Month the *Caſtelletto* of *Genoa* ſhould for Two Years, the Garriſon being maintained at the common Expence, be put into the Hands of the Duke of *Ferrara*, who was come to the *Italian* Camp at the Deſire of both Parties; but he ſhould take

A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. an Oath to deliver it any Time within that Term to the King of *France*, in caſe the Duke of *Milan* did not perform the Articles of this Treaty: *Lodovico*, on the ſigning of the Peace, ſhould give Hoſtages to remain with the King, till the *Caſtelletto* was delivered to the Duke of *Ferrara*.

THESE Articles being referred to the King by his Miniſters concerned in the Treaty, his Majeſty laid them before his Council, where, amidſt a Variety of Sentiments, M. *de la Tremouille* ſpoke to the following Purport:

Speech of *Tremouille* in Council. "IF the Subject under Debate concerned only the making new Additions to the Glory of the Crown of *France* by warlike Exploits, I ſhould perhaps be leſs forward, O magnanimous King, to adviſe that your Royal Perſon ſhould be expoſed to new Dangers, tho' your own Example ought to have counſelled you to the contrary. For, with no other Motive than the Thirſt after Glory, you reſolved, contrary to the Advice and to the Intreaties of almoſt your whole Kingdom, to paſs the laſt Year

Year into *Italy*, in order to make a Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Succeſs of which Enterprize being crowned with great Honour and Renown, it is moſt manifeſt that the Queſtion at preſent is not whether you ought to refuſe the Opportunity of acquiring new Honour and Glory, but whether you ought to deſpiſe, and give over for loſt what you have with ſo much Coſt, and ſo great Danger acquired, and convert all this Honour into the greateſt Ignominy and Diſgrace, and will yourſelf contradict and condemn your own Reſolutions. For you might, without any Reflection, have remained unactive in *France*, nor could that which now will be imputed by all the World to Timidity and Cowardice, be then aſcribed to any other Motive than Negligence, and to an Age addicted to Pleaſures. Your Majeſty might, ſoon after your Arrival at *Aſti*, with leſs Shame have returned back to *France*, and ſhown that you were not concerned for the Preſervation of *Novara*: But now, ſince you have ſtopped here with your Army, and publicly declared that it was with an Intention to raiſe the Siege of *Novara*, A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. *vara*, and for that End have cauſed ſo many of the Nubility to come from *France*, and, at an intolerable Expence, hired ſo great a Number of *Swiſs*, who can doubt but that your own Glory and that of your Kingdom will be converted into eternal Diſgrace if the Siege be not raiſed? But we have ſtill a more powerful Motive, if in the Breaſts of magnanimous Kings there can poſſibly reſide any greater and more ardent Incentive than a Thirſt after Fame and Glory, or at leaſt we have more neceſſary Reaſons. For our Return into *France*, and conſenting to loſe *Novara* by Capitulation, is the ſame in Effect as loſing the whole Kingdom of *Naples*, and abandoning to Deſtruction ſo many brave Officers and *French* Nobles, who remain for Defence of that Country, in Hopes, confirmed by your royal Word, of ſpeedy Succours, and will be thrown into Deſpair of ever being relieved, as ſoon as they ſhall underſtand that you lie on the Frontiers of *Italy* with ſo great an Army, and ſo formidable a Force, under Awe of the Enemy. Succeſs in War depends in a great meaſure, as every one knows, on Reputation,

and

and when this declines the Valour of the Soldiers declines with it, the public Credit is diminiſhed, and the Revenues allotted to ſupport the War are annihilated. On the contrary Side the Courage of the Enemy increaſes, their Doubts are removed, while on the other Hand all the Difficulties are infinitely augmented. When therefore our Army, by ſuch melancholy News, abates of its Vigour, and the Enemy increaſes in Forces and Reputation, who can doubt but that we ſhall ſoon hear of a Rebellion of the whole Kingdom of *Naples*, and ſoon after, that our Army is defeated, and that an Enterpriſe, begun and conducted with ſo much Glory, will in the End yield us no other Fruit than Loſs and ineſtimable Diſgrace? For whoever perſuades himſelf that this Peace is made with a ſincere Intention, ſhews that he little conſiders the preſent Poſture of Affairs, and that he knows but little of the Nature of thoſe with whom it is negotiated, it being eaſy to conclude that, as ſoon as we have turned our Backs to *Italy*, not one Thing contained in theſe Articles will be obſerved, but that, inſtead of our receiving the ſtipulated

A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. ſtipulated Succours, Aſſiſtance will be ſent to *Ferdinando*, and thoſe very Troops which will boaſt of having made us ſhamefully fly out of *Italy*, will march for *Naples* to enrich themſelves with our Spoils. Such a Diſgrace would be more tolerable, if there were any probable Reaſon for doubting of the Victory. But how is it poſſible for any one to entertain a Doubt of this Nature, who conſiders the Greatneſs of our Army, with the Advantages of the Country around us, and remembers that, when we were tired with the Length of the March, ſtraitened for want of Proviſions, very few in Number, and in the Midſt of an Enemy's Country, we yet fought with ſuch Fierceneſs and Reſolution againſt a very numerous Army on the *Taro*, which River ran that Day with great Violence, more ſwelled with the Blood of our Enemies than with its own Waters, that we opened ourſelves a Paſſage with the Sword, and, for eight Days together, rode on victorious through the Dutchy of *Milan*, which was all againſt us. We have at preſent double the Number of Horſe, and a much greater Number of *French* Foot than we had

had at that Time, and inſtead of Three Thouſand we have Twenty-Two Thouſand *Swiſs*; whereas our Enemies, tho' reinforced with ſome *German* Foot, may be ſaid to be but little increaſed in Compariſon of us. For their Cavalry is much the ſame, they have the ſame Commanders, and having been once beaten by us with ſo great Loſs, they will return to fight under a Terror. Beſides, are the Rewards of the Victory perhaps ſo ſmall that they ought to be deſpiſed by us, and not rather ſo conſiderable that they deſerve our ſtriving to obtain them tho' with ſome Danger? For we fight not only for the Preſervation of the great Glory we have acquired, for the Preſervation of the Kingdom of *Naples*, for the Safety of ſo many of our Officers and Nobles, but for the Empire of all *Italy*, which will be at Stake in the Field, where if we come off Conquerors, it offers itſelf as the Price of our Victory. For what other Troops, what other Armies have the Enemies left? They have their whole Force, and all the Generals that they could get together contained within their Camp. One Ditch that we may paſs, one Rampart that

A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. that we may force, will put us in Poſſeſſion of ſo vaſt an Acquiſition as the Dominion and Riches of all *Italy*, together with the Means of revenging ourſelves for our manifold Injuries; which are two Incentives that uſed to fire the Spirit even of the Lazy and Puſillanimous. And if they ſhould not be able to move our warlike and fierce Nation, we ſhall certainly have Reaſon to ſay that we are forſaken by Courage rather than by Fortune, who preſents us with an Opportunity of gaining in ſo ſmall a Field, and in ſo few Hours, Prizes ſo great and honourable, that greater and more honourable would exceed the Bounds of our own Wiſhes."

In contradiction to this Speech of *Tremouille* the Prince of *Orange* ſpoke as follows.

Anſwer of the Prince of *Orange*. "If our Affairs, Moſt Chriſtian King, were not reduced within ſuch a narrow Compaſs of Time, but were at ſuch a Paſs as to give us Leiſure to conduct our Forces with Prudence and Induſtry, and we were not neceſſitated, if we intend to continue the

the War, to proceed impetuouſly, and contrary to all the Precepts of the military Art, I alſo would be one of thoſe who would adviſe rejecting an Agreement: For, to ſpeak the Truth, there are many Reaſons why we ſhould not accept it, ſince it cannot be denied that the Continuation of the War would be very honourable, and highly conducive to the Succeſs of our Affairs in *Naples*. But the Condition to which *Novara* and its Caſtle are reduced, where there is not a Day's Proviſion left, conſtrains us, if we intend to relieve it, to attack the Enemy without Delay. And even if we ſuffer it to be loſt, with a Deſign of transferring the War into ſome other Part of the State of *Milan*, the Winter Seaſon, which now approaches, is very inconvenient for making War in thoſe low and watry Places. The Condition of our Army, which from the Nature and ſo great a Multitude of *Swiſs*, if it be not ſoon put in Action, may prove more pernicious to ourſelves than to the Enemy; the extraordinary Scarcity of Money, which renders it impoſſible for us to maintain ourſelves for any long Time, lay

A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. lay us under a Neceſſity, if we accept not of the preſent Articles, to ſtrive for bringing the War to a ſpeedy Concluſion; and that can be done no other Way than by directly marching up and attacking the Enemy, which, conſidering their Condition and that of the Country, is a Step ſo dangerous that *Tremouille* himſelf muſt acknowledge that to proceed in this Manner would be the higheſt Temerity and Imprudence. For their Camp is ſo ſtrong both by Nature and Art, and they have had ſo long a Time to intrench and fortify it; the circumjacent Places, which they have garriſoned, are ſo commodious for their Defence, and ſo well fortified; and the Country, from the Incloſures of the Ditches, and the Impediments of the Waters ſo difficult for Cavalry, that whoever puts himſelf on his March in full Array in order to come up with them, and does not make his Approaches Step by Step, by diſlodging them Place after Place from their fortified Avenues, and gain Ground upon them, as we ſay, Inch by Inch, ſeeks to run himſelf into very great and unavoidable Danger. For by what Reaſoning,

ſoning, by what Rules of War, by what Example of excellent Generals, ought we to run violently on attacking ſo numerous an Army, in ſo ſtrong a Camp, furniſhed with ſuch a Quantity of Artillery? It would be neceſſary, unleſs we would leave the Event wholly to Chance, to diſlodge them from their ſtrong Situation, by taking Poſſeſſion of ſome Poſt, that might command their Camp, or intercept their Proviſions. But nothing of this, as far as I can judge, is to be expected but by proceeding maturely, and with Length of Time, which, every one knows, we are not in a Condition to wait: Not to mention that our Cavalry is neither ſo numerous, nor ſo full of Spirits, as ſome perhaps perſuade themſelves, many, as is well known, being ſick, many without Permiſſion returned into *France*, and the greater Part of thoſe who remain tired with the long Service, and more deſirous to go into Quarters than to fight: And the great Number of *Swiſs*, who are the principal Strength of our Army, is perhaps as prejudicial to us as a ſmall Number would be uſeleſs. For what Man, who is ex- A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. perienced in the Nature and Manners of that Nation, and knows how difficult it is to keep ſo large a Body of them in Order, will be Security for them that they ſhall not raiſe ſome dangerous Tumult, eſpecially if the War be protracted to a conſiderable Length, when on account of the Payments, in which they are inſatiable, and of other Accidents, a thouſand Occaſions might ariſe to put them out of Humour?' Thus muſt we be at a Loſs whether their Aſſiſtance will ſerve us as a Remedy or as a Poiſon; and under this Uncertainty how can we ſettle our Counſels, with what Spirit can we reſolve on any bold and grand Enterpriſe? None doubts that Victory would be more honourable, and more conducive to the Defence of the Kingdom of *Naples*, than Agreement. But in all human Actions, and eſpecially in Wars, it is often requiſite to accommodate Reſolutions to Neceſſity, and not out of a Deſire to obtain a Part which is too difficult, and almoſt impoſſible, to expoſe the Whole to moſt manifeſt Danger: Nor is it leſs the Part of a valiant General to perform the Office of a prudent than of a courageous

courageous Commander. The Enterprise of *Novara* has not been your principal Undertaking, but only indirectly concerned your Majesty, since you pretend no Right to the Dutchy of *Milan*: Nor did you leave *Naples* with a View to make a Stop, and carry on a War in *Piedmont*, but to return into *France*, in order to re-establish your Finances and your Military, that you might with the greater Vigour be enabled to succour the Kingdom of *Naples*. That Country in the mean time, by the Succour of the Fleet which is sailed from *Nizza* with the Troops commanded by *Vitelli*, and by the Auxiliaries and Money of the *Florentines*, will defend itself so well, that it may with Security wait the Arrival of those powerful Supplies which your Majesty will take care to provide when you are once returned into *France*. I will not affirm, with some, that the Duke of *Milan* will observe this Treaty; but as he and the *Genoese* are to give Hostages, and the *Castelletto* is to be put in your Hands, according to the Tenor of the Articles, you will at least have some Security, some Pledge. Nor will it also be much to be A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. wondered at, if the Duke, to avoid being the firſt who will feel the Weight, of your Arms, ſhould deſire to live in Peace. Beſides, it is the Nature of Leagues, where many Parties are concerned, not to have that Firmneſs and that Harmony which might exclude all Hopes of its Diſſolution, or the Diſunion of ſome Members from the reſt, among whom every ſmall Breach that we might make, every little Gap we ſee, will enlarge itſelf to make Way for our eaſy and ſecure Victory. To conclude, I adviſe your moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to an Agreement, not becauſe it is advantageous and laudable in itſelf, but as it is the Part of wiſe Princes, in difficult and troubleſome Deliberations, to approve as eaſy and agreeable that which is neceſſary, or at leaſt attended with leſs Difficulty and Danger than any of the reſt."

THE Duke of *Orleans* paſſed his Cenſures on this Speech of the Prince of *Orange*, and with ſuch Sharpneſs, that both he and the Prince, tranſported with violent Paſſion, proceeded from hot to abuſive Words, and *Orleans* gave the

the other the Lye before all the Council. The Inclinations, however, of moſt of the Members, and of almoſt the whole Army, were for accepting Peace, the Deſire of returning into *France* being ſo ſtrong in all, and in the King as much as the reſt, as to ſuppreſs all Senſe of the Danger of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and of the Diſgrace they would incur by ſuffering *Novara* to be loſt before their Eyes, and by departing out of *Italy* on Terms which, for the Uncertainty of their Performance, were highly iniquitous. This Reſolution was promoted with ſo much Heat by the Prince of *Orange*, as to create in many a Suſpicion that, at the Sollicitations of the King of the *Romans*, to whom he was much devoted, he had no leſs Regard to the Intereſt of the Duke of *Milan*, than to that of the King of *France*; and he was of great Authority with *Charles*, on account of his natural Parts and Valour, as well as becauſe Princes are apt to eſteem thoſe as wiſe Men, who know beſt how to conform themſelves to their Inclinations. A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495.

PEACE then was concluded, to which the Duke of *Milan* had no ſooner ſworn than the King, wholly intent on his Return to *France*, ſet out on a ſudden for *Turin*, in a great Hurry, from *Vercelli*: For that Part of the *Swiſs* which was in the Camp, in order to ſecure their Pay for three whole Months, which, they ſaid, was always allowed them by *Lewis* XI. tho' it had not been now promiſed them, and they had not yet ſerved out that Time, conſulted together about detaining either the King or the principal Perſons of the Court; from which Danger, tho' the King himſelf eſcaped by his ſudden Departure, yet the *Swiſs*, having made Priſoners of the Bailiff of *Dijon*, and other great Perſons, he was at laſt obliged to give them Security by Hoſtages and Promiſes that their Demands ſhould be ſatisfied.

THE King, more and more impatient to eſtabliſh Peace, ſent from *Turin* Marſhal *de Gié*, the Preſident *Gannay*, and *Argenton*, to the Duke of *Milan*, to deſire a perſonal Conference. *Lodovico* ſeemed fond

fond of the Propoſal, but either ſuſpecting ſome Fraud, or perhaps ſtudiouſly interpoſing Difficulties that he might not give Cauſe of Jealouſy to the Allies, or out of Pride of appearing not inferior to the King of *France*, propoſed the Meeting to be in the Midſt of ſome River, over which there ſhould be a Bridge of Boats, or of other Materials, and between him and the King a ſtrong Barrier of Wood, in the ſame Manner as heretofore the Kings of *France* and *England*, and other great weſtern Princes had met. This was refuſed by the King as beneath his Dignity; ſo, after receiving the Hoſtages, he ſent *Peron de Baſque* to *Genoa*, to receive the two large Veſſels agreed for, and to fit out four others at his own Expence, to ſuccour the Caſtles of *Naples*, which he knew had not been relieved by the Fleet ordered from *Nizza*, and by Agreement were to be ſurrendered, if not ſuccoured in Thirty Days. His Intention was to put immediately Three Thouſand *Swiſs* on board theſe Veſſels, and join them with his Fleet, which was retired to *Livorno*, and other Ships that were daily expected from *Provence*. Such

A. D. 1495.

A. D. 1495. a Force was neceſſary, the Port of *Naples* being full of the Enemy's Fleet; for, beſides thoſe Veſſels which *Ferdinando* had brought with him, the *Venetians* had ſent Twenty Gallies, and Forty Ships. *Argenton* was ſent alſo to *Venice* to preſs the Senate to accept of the Peace, and then the King, accompanied by his whole Court, began his Journey with ſo much Speed and Eagerneſs, that he could not be prevailed on to wait a few Days in *Italy* to receive the Hoſtages of the *Genoeſe*, who would certainly have ſent them had he tarried a little longer. And thus, about the End of *October* 1495, *Charles*, after ſo many Victories, returned over the Mountains, more like a vanquiſhed than victorious Prince. He left in *Aſti*, which he pretended to have bought of the Duke of *Orleans*, Five Hundred *French* Lances under *Gianjacopo Trivulzi*, but moſt of them in a few Days without aſking Leave followed him. In this manner *Charles* quitted *Italy*, without making any other Proviſion for the Kingdom of *Naples*, than the Ships that were arming at *Genoa* and in *Provence*,

vence, beſides an Aſſignment of the Money and Aids promiſed by the *Florentines*. A. D. 1495.

First Appearance of the *French* Diſeaſe.

In giving the Hiſtory of theſe Times, I think it ought not to be forgot that, amongſt all other Calamities which overwhelmed *Italy* by the Coming of the *French*, or were at leaſt attributed to them, at this Time firſt appeared that Diſtemper which the *French* call the Diſtemper of *Naples*, and on their Return was ſpread all over *Italy*.

This Diſtemper, either quite new, or never known before in our Hemiſphere, unleſs in its remoteſt Parts, has made for a Number of Years ſuch a Havock, that it deſerves to be mentioned as a fatal Calamity. It firſt diſcovered itſelf either by very loathſome Boils, which often became incurable Ulcers, or by acute Pains in all the Joints and Nerves throughout the Body; and unexperienced Phyſicians applied not only improper but often contrary Medicines, which irritated the Diſtemper, and proved fatal to a Multitude of both Sexes and of all Ages. Many became

A. D. 1495. became ſo horribly disfigured that they remained uſeleſs, and ſubject to almoſt perpetual Pains, and the beſt Part of thoſe who ſeemed to be cured ſoon relapſed into the ſame Miſery. But as ſome Years are now elapſed, either becauſe the Celeſtial Influence, which produced the Diſtemper in ſo virulent a Manner, is mitigated, or that by Length of Time proper Remedies have been found out, it has loſt very much of its Malignity, and has alſo metamorphoſed itſelf into ſeveral different Shapes ſince its firſt Appearance. This is a Calamity which the preſent Generation might with Reaſon complain of, if it were tranſmitted to them by their Parents: But it is a received Opinion, that never, or at leaſt very ſeldom, any one is afflicted with this Diſeaſe, any other Way than by Infection from Coition. However, the *French*, in Juſtice, ought to be cleared from this ignominious Imputation, for it afterwards plainly appeared that the Diſtemper was brought to *Naples* from *Spain*; nor was it the Product of that Country, but conveyed thither from thoſe Iſlands which, about this Time, through the Means of *Chriſtopher*

ſtopher Colombus, a *Genoeſe*, as in a more proper Place will be related, began to be known in our Hemiſphere. But Nature has been indulgent to the Inhabitants of thoſe Iſlands in providing an eaſy Remedy; for, by drinking the Juice of a noble Wood, memorable alſo for many other good Qualities, which grows among them, they are eaſily cured. A. D. 1495.

The End of the Second Book, and Firſt Volume.

The Tranſlator having preſerved many *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Names where he imagined they might not be offenſive to the Ear, has thought proper to add this Explanation.

Carlo	*Charles*
Lorenzo	*Lawrence*
Giovanni	*John*
Lodovico	*Lewis*
Maria	*Mary*
Piero, *Pietro*	*Peter*
Maddalena	*Magdalen*
Giovanna	*Joane*
Hannibale	*Hannibal*
Franceſco	*Francis*
Carlotta	*Charlotte*
Henrico	*Henry*
Fieſchi, *Fieſco*	The ſame Name.
Bentivogli, *Bentivoglio*	The ſame Name.
Livorno	*Leghorn*
Jacopo	*James*
Paolo	*Paul*
Tomaſo	*Thomas*
San Vincentio	*Saint Vincent*
Bernardino	*Bernard*
Caſtel Nuovo	*The New Caſtle*
Caſtelletto	*The Little Caſtle*
Nizza	*Nice.*

ERRATA.

Page viii l. 12 *r. French* and *Spaniards.* p. xvii l. 2 *r.* he was made. p. 1 l. 4 *r.* Princes. p. 11 l. 6 for and *r.* but alſo for. p. 32 l. 20 *r.* aſſiſt his Holineſs. p. 47 l. 12 *d.* Increaſe. p. 68 *r.* Conditions. p. 80 *r.* Baſque. p. 86 l. 3 *r.* or rather. p. 133 laſt l. *r.* lent. p. 138 l. 13 *r.* will ſtrive. p. 201 *r. Gratiano.* p. 232 l. 23 *r.* had adviſed them to have been procured. p. 267 l. 1 *d.* a. p. 273 l. 3 *r.* them, all; l. 6 *d.* it. p. 295 l. 15 *r. Florentines.* p. 306 l. 21 *r.* by *Caſtel.* p. 346 l. 4. *r.* victorious in a Battle againſt *Maximilian* King. p. 401 l. 13 *r.* reverſed, *&c. &c.*

00037590

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 25 June, 2016